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A  
RECORD OF THE ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
WALES AND ITS MARCHES,  
AND THE JOURNAL OF  
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## PREFACE TO VOL. IV.

### NEW SERIES.

THE course of time has brought us to the completion of another Volume of the *ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS*, and warns us to address a few Editorial observations to our friends, who have kindly and consistently attached themselves to us, and assisted us thus far in prosecuting our literary labours, in the face of no little discouragement.

We confidently appeal to our articles, especially those on "Leominster Church," "Newton Nottage," "Early Remains in the Great Isle of Aran," "Carn Goch," "Breselu Hill," and the "Poems of Taliesin," in proof that we have endeavoured to make the Journal worthy of its name and position.

As long as we may reckon the names of Freeman, Knight, Hartshorne, Archdeacon Williams, Fenton, and Stephens among our contributors, it is impossible that the *ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS* can degenerate in point of talent, instruction, or general interest.

The present Editor feels proud in having been officially connected with the work from its very commencement. When it had existed about a year, he suggested the formation of the Cambrian Archæological Association, which also, in conjunction with his colleague, he succeeded in

establishing. This Association, which held its Seventh Annual Meeting at Brecon during the present year, has not only brought men of talent together from time to time, for the purpose of discussing subjects of an archæological character, but has also disposed the inhabitants of the Principality in general, to value and preserve their national antiquities in a way they had never done before.

Ever since the establishment of the Association, the *ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS* has been regarded as its special organ. The Editor, who has had the sole management of it for the last two years, has felt the difficulty of reflecting faithfully the sentiments of a society, consisting of men who not only entertained different opinions on archæological discoveries, but who had also unusually strong prejudices on matters affecting the credit of our national literature.

Nevertheless he has reason to hope that in this respect he has given general satisfaction. It was his endeavour, at any rate, so to do; and while he occasionally felt called upon to vindicate the honour of his country and nation from the calumnies of ignorant writers, he took care not to retaliate by any “abuse of the Saxon.”

He regrets exceedingly that his other avocations will not allow him to continue his Editorial connexion with the *ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS* beyond the present Volume. Whilst, therefore, he resigns his office into the hands of the Committee, he trusts that a successor may be found, possessed of as much real love as is felt by him for his country, and as earnest a desire for the moral and intellectual elevation of his countrymen.

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The Publisher begs to tender his thanks to the Rev. H. Hey Knight, for having so liberally contributed towards the illustration of the present volume.

# Archæologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. XIII.—JANUARY, 1853.

## ON THE HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF CARNO, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

(*Read at Ludlow.*)

A FEW miles north-east of Plynlimon, on its Montgomeryshire side, in a valley watered by some of the early tributary streamlets that fall into the Severn at Caersws, is the village of Carno. The church, a plain structure within the village, has been recently rebuilt on the foundation of the former edifice, which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who are said to have had a house near it, and to have possessed the lordship of Carno. As one branch of their duties was the protection of their fellow-creatures from violence and rapine, it is very probable they might have had a station for the protection of travellers, and for hospitality, in that rude and remote district wherein they owned property, and claimed the seigniory, and which, according to Pennant (vol. iii. p. 194) was long filled with a lawless banditti who infested the passes of the neighbouring mountains, and levied arbitrary exactions alike on the wayfarer and on the peaceable inhabitant. These knights were sometimes called Hospitallers,<sup>1</sup> from an hospital built at Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*; Burns' *Ecclesiastical Law*, ii. p. 451.

for the use of pilgrims going to the Holy Land; for their first business was to provide for such pilgrims at that hospital, and to protect them from injuries and insults on the road. They were instituted about the year 1092, and soon after came into England, and had a house built for them in London in 1100. Combining the austere rules of the monk with the warlike activity of the soldier, the renown which the order acquired in Palestine soon attracted the nobility from all parts of Christendom to its standard, and admission to its ranks was sought with avidity by the flower of European chivalry.<sup>2</sup> From a poor and lowly beginning they obtained so great wealth and honours that their superior in this country, styled the Prior of St. John's, was the first baron of England,<sup>3</sup> and had a seat among the lords in parliament. After they were driven out of the Holy Land by the Moslem powers, they settled chiefly at Rhodes, and were thence called Knights of Rhodes; and, after the loss of Rhodes in the year 1522, and their having the island of Malta bestowed upon them by the emperor Charles the Fifth, they were called Knights of Malta. In England the Hospitallers were suppressed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, for persisting in their allegiance to the Pope after the separation of the English Church from that of Rome, and all their castles, manors, lands, rents, tithes, preceptories, and other titles were transferred to the king and his successors.<sup>4</sup> The order, however, continued to maintain its existence in other parts of the world, and is said to have descended through later years to our own days, although its primary and distinctive character has passed away; yet

<sup>2</sup> They followed St. Austin's rule, and wore a black habit with a white cross upon it.

<sup>3</sup> This precedence was with regard to lay barons only, for he was the last of the spiritual ones.

<sup>4</sup> At the time of their dissolution we have the account of their clear yearly revenue:—

Knights Hospitallers' head house in London .....	£2385	12	8
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Twenty-eight of their houses in the country .....	3026	9	5
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—See *Tanner's Notitia Monastica*; *Dugdale's Monasticon*; *Burns' Ecclesiastical Law*, ii. p. 467.

these are now the only representatives of those Crusaders whose exploits in arms struck terror through the Turkish powers in Africa and Asia. The site of their establishment in Carno is left to conjecture; but a proof of the extent of property the knights must once have possessed in the parish is, that Trawscoed and Derllwyn, two of the three townships into which it is divided, are free from great tithes, whilst Llyssin, the other township, remains chargeable. This may easily be accounted for on the supposition that the first named two townships were the property of the brotherhood, and therefore free from the payment of tithes, whilst the other in lay hands would continue chargeable; and the act for the dissolution of monasteries contains a clause that such possessions of those houses as were discharged from tithes should continue so, into whosoever hands they might pass.

Adjoining the churchyard is an oblong quadrangular mound of earth, measuring 121 yards on the longest side, and within the quadrangle, forming part of its western extreme, was a carn of unusual extent or size, which carn, in its old plural, carnau, seems to have given the name of Carno to the village and parish. Its dimensions may be calculated from the testimony of an old inhabitant, who remembered more than a thousand loads of stone having been raised and removed thence for fencing purposes, and for road making; and he states his belief that as much, or more, still remains buried under the green sward of the field of which it now forms a part, and the present appearance of the ground warrants that opinion.

The quadrangle is called Caer y Noddfa,—the fortress of refuge, or of sanctuary,—a name that may have been connected with the commandery or hospitium of the Hospitallers, as privilege of sanctuary was usually appended to their mansion houses and other places (commonly called St. John's Hold); and the law was so favourable to the preservation of such sanctuaries that Lord Coke says, 3 Inst. 217,—“If a felon had been in prison for a felony, and before attaignment or conviction

had escaped and taken sanctuary within the privileged precincts, and the gaolers or others had pursued him and brought him back again to prison, upon his arraignment he might have pleaded the same, and should have been restored again to the sanctuary." By the act of Henry the Eighth, before alluded to, all such privileges belonging to such hospitals were abolished. Notwithstanding the legal enactment, however, the name still subsists, and clearly seems to indicate its present appellation to have been derived from the use to which it was applied by the Knights Hospitallers; but whatever use it may have been applied to by those knights, the quadrangle itself seems evidently to point to an earlier, probably a Roman, origin; and this may be presumed, not only from its quadrangular form, but from its position on the low and plain surface of the vale, adjoining the running waters of several small rills, that there contribute and unite to form the main stream of the Carno brook. These are,—Avon Cwm Llwyd from the north; Avon Pwll Llydan from the west; and the Cledan and the Cerniog from the south, the main stream proceeding east to Caersws,—just such a spot as the Roman army preferred for an outpost or a camp, whilst the Britons preferred the brows and heights of hills for such purposes.

There are traces of an ancient trackway or road running through the parish from Caersws, which are still plainly discernible in the farm yard of Sarn, lying parallel to the turnpike road, and carried on towards Sarn Bigog and Sarn Ddu in a direction north of Plynlimon, and south of the common of Talerddig, pointing westward, and toward the sea coast. From this frequent recurrence of the name of Sarn in the same vicinity, which implies an artificially raised road or causeway, together with the evident traces still discernible of the causeway, the inference has been drawn that it was of Roman construction, in connexion with their neighbouring station at Caersws; and it is deserving of remark that the Roman engineer, centuries ago, had the sagacity to discover what the railway projectors of the present day, with

all the aids of advanced science and skill, now admit to be the best line of road to the westward through these hills.

A farther consideration connected with the rapid developement of the railway system in our day will be apt to force itself on the mind of the antiquary, and, in the present instance, tinge it with a painful feeling, which is, that the projected railway from Shrewsbury to Aberystwyth, if carried out, will pass through the very centre of the quadrangle at Carno, and thus efface from our view one more object of interest to the topographer and antiquary, for at this very time are the surveyors busily engaged in levelling and mapping the sections of the railway, both at Carno and Llanbrynmair.

It is rather singular that no notice in print appears to have been anywhere taken of the Gaer at Carno, except in the Ordnance map, where it is accurately laid down, and whereby my attention was first called to it. It is a matter of regret that our learned topographer and antiquary, Mr. Pennant, in his tour through North Wales, did not extend his researches in this direction further than Caersws, (vol. iii. p. 197,) being deterred by information he received that there was nothing interesting in the region around Plynlimon. On the contrary, the most casual observer, in surveying a map or chart of Wales, cannot fail of having his attention arrested by that central group of hills, with its subordinate ranges, which forms the confines of North Wales and South Wales, and with its capabilities of offence and of defence in warlike operations which, in point of fact, often proved a sort of debateable land between the different portions of the Principality when at variance with one another, and which a reference to history will show to have been the scene of many severe contests, the evidence whereof is still discernible in the numerous carneddau and remains of military posts to be found therein.

In the parish are two British posts, opposite one another, on the high grounds that skirt each side of the valley: the one to the south of the village is on the farm

of Castell, the other on the north side, under the Allt Vawr Hill, which seem to have been occupied by opposing parties watching each other's movements.

During the commotions that arose in Wales on the death of Howell the Good, A.D. 948, and the long war which followed between his sons and the sons of Idwal Foel, late prince of North Wales, this parish became the scene of one of those fierce contests that occurred betwixt the contending parties. The sons of Howell had divided amongst themselves the principalities of South Wales and Powys, laying no claim to North Wales; but Ieuaf and Iago, the sons of Idwal Foel, putting aside the pretensions of their elder brother Meyric, claimed the right to the principality of all Wales, as descending from the elder branch of the house of Roderic the Great, which the sons of Howell resisted. Ieuaf and Iago were indeed descended from the elder branch; but since Roderic the Great, in the tripartite division of Wales, had conferred the Principality of South Wales upon Cadell the father of Howell, the right of the heirs of those princes to that division of the Principality seems unquestionable, however open to remark, and however short-sighted may have been the policy, of Roderic, in authorizing the partition amongst his descendants.

This battle of Carno was fought between Ieuaf and Iago at the head of an army consisting of North Wallians on the one hand, and their cousins, Owen, and his brethren Rhun, Roderic and Edwin, at the head of the South Wallians on the other side. It took place in the year 949, upon the hills of Carno, and in its issue Ieuaf and Iago were the victors. The contest had been for the absolute sovereignty of the whole of Wales, and entailed upon the Principality a series of desolation and of slaughter which must have greatly weakened its resources; "and this," adds the *Brut*, O. C. 949, with its emphatic brevity, "was called Gwaith Carno," (the exploit performed at Carno); and farther says, that "the sons of Idwal thereupon laid waste thoroughly South Wales."

A second battle, arising from the same unhappy civil

commotions respecting the succession, was fought at Carno in the year 1077, or 1078 ; and this is also called, in the same *Brut*, O. C. 1080, by the same title of Gwaith Carno. The government of Wales, both North and South, had been for a long time previously detained from the right and legal owners, when Rhys ap Theodore claimed the kingdom of South Wales, as right inheritor of the same from Howell the Good, and the people received him with the greatest willingness, and made him their prince.

In the year following Griffith the son of Conan, and grandson of the Iago above mentioned, brought a great army of Irishmen and Scots into Wales, and joined with Rhys ap Theodore, as the two right heirs of the whole country, Griffith of North Wales, and Rhys of South Wales, being both descended from Roderic the Great ; against whom came Traherne ap Caradoc, the reigning but usurping prince of Gwyneth, and with him his kinsmen Caradoc ap Gruffydd, and Meilyr the son of Rhiwallon ap Gwyn ap Blethyn, his cousin-german, (for Gwyn ap Blethyn was their grandfather,) which latter were in those days the chief rulers of all Wales.

The hostile armies met on the mountains of Carno. The engagement that ensued was long, hotly, and fiercely contested, and every inch of ground disputed with that valour and obstinacy natural to rivals who had everything to hope and everything to fear from the result. But the victory fell to the lot of Griffith and Rhys ; for Traherne ap Caradoc, together with his cousins, were slain, and most of their people. This is said to have been the most sanguinary battle recorded in the Welsh annals ; and the result was that the government of Wales came under the right rulers, and Griffith ap Conan ruled North Wales, and Rhys ap Theodore South Wales.

The spot on or near which both these battles of Carno took place is said, in the traditional accounts handed down in the neighbourhood, to have been on part of a high chain of mountains that proceed from Plynlimon, betwixt Carno and Tref Eglwys, towards Llanbrynmair,

on the north-west, which part of the hilly range is locally called Tarannon, but more generally the “mountains or hills of Carno.”

On this hilly ridge is an immense carn, beneath which it is said Traherne ap Caradoc and his two cousins lie buried. It measures sixty feet in diameter, and is called Twr gwyn mawr ; and these traditions are somewhat strengthened by the finding, near the spot, javelin heads, battle-axes, and the infantry bills of that period. Coins of the Lower Empire have also been found within the parish. About a quarter of a mile farther on the same ridge is a smaller carn called Twr gwyn vach.

A contemporary bard has left elegies on the fallen princes, one of which, having been beautifully paraphrased by a modern poet, is subjoined, on account of its local reference, and its poetic merits :—

“ On Carno’s hills, with nimble feet,  
The deer were wont to bound ;  
But Carno’s hills no more repeat  
The baying of the hound.  
The noble youths who chased the deer  
In battle have been slain ;  
And never to the morning’s ear  
Those sounds shall come again.

“ For Carno’s groves lie dark and still,  
The harp the minstrels shun,  
Which sweetly rang o’er dale and hill  
In praise of Gruffydd’s son.  
Oh ! when again shall music sweet  
Ring from the mellow horn ;  
Or from yon hills the deer’s light feet  
Sweep the cold dews of morn.”<sup>5</sup>

These two battles of Carno have been transferred by some writers to Mynydd y Cyrn, either in Brecknockshire or Monmouthshire, between Crickhowel and Abergavenny, but erroneously, or by confounding it with an engagement which did take place in that region between Roderic Molwynog and Ethelbald the Mercian prince in the year 728, when Roderic claimed the victory, and the

<sup>5</sup> Cambro-Briton, iii. 315.

waters of the Usk proved fatal to the cause of Ethelbald ; for, as many of the Mercians endeavoured to make their escape through its flood, they were swept off and drowned. The more accurate Price, in his *History*,<sup>6</sup> describes this as a single mountain near the Usk, and it is now called Mynydd y Cyrn. This lies in the ancient principality of Gwent, which was then a neutral territory, nowise concerned in the struggles between the princes of North and South Wales. These Montgomeryshire mountains, too, are always termed in the plural, "the mountains or hills of Carno."

T. O. MORGAN.

Aberystwyth, August, 1852.

### LEOMINSTER PRIORY CHURCH.

(*Read at Ludlow.*)

It has been my fate on several occasions, both before this and other similar societies, to undertake the examination of buildings illustrating the essential difference between ordinary parochial architecture and that of cathedrals and similar great churches, as well as the manner in which we sometimes find the two types intermingled or influencing one another. Of the essential difference between the two, I have on one occasion<sup>1</sup> endeavoured to put together something like a *rationale* ; the practical exhibition of this difference, as well as of the way in which they may be combined, I have done my best to trace out at Llandaff, at Dorchester, and at Monkton ; and it has now fallen upon me to work out the same line of thought with regard to a church well worthy of forming a member of the same series, the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul at Leominster.

<sup>6</sup> *Hanes Cymru*, p. 372.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Builder*, vol. x. pp. 4, 117.

This church is one which I may call peculiarly well adapted for a lecture of the present kind. The changes which it has undergone are certainly of a very extraordinary kind, and have resulted—irrespective of later mutilations—in an entire transformation of its original plan and character, so that the first appearance of the church is thereby rendered not a little puzzling and contradictory. But a little further examination will show that they tell their own story pretty satisfactorily, and only require to be pointed out to carry their evidence with them. I am not driven, as at Llandaff and Dorchester, to leave many points still open to doubt and controversy, nor shall I be obliged, as at St. David's, to request your assent to propositions, which, were they not confirmed by undoubted architectural and documentary evidence, you might feel inclined at once to cast aside as paradoxical or impossible. The history of Leominster Church is curious indeed, but in no way difficult.

In treating of this building it will be desirable to adopt a less formal course than has been done on previous occasions. At Llandaff and St. David's, on account of the numerous and intricate changes which they have undergone, it was found necessary to keep the description and the history distinct; here, as at Malmesbury,<sup>2</sup> the changes being of a much simpler description, the two may well be kept together. I shall therefore, after a brief notice of the general appearance of the church, proceed to a combined description and history of its several portions.

#### § I.—GENERAL OUTLINE, &c.

THE WEST FRONT.—I had myself some general notion of what Leominster Church was like, before I had actually the pleasure of seeing it; but I think I should take a malicious delight in witnessing the successive puzzlings and changes of opinion which would assuredly

<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiologist, xiii. p. 154.

be the lot of one who approached it in absolute ignorance of what he was going to find. The first approach could hardly fail to be from the south-west ; the eye of the visitor would be first caught by a large and stately west front, comprising a north-west tower, a huge central window, and on the south side what looks almost like the stump of another tower. A second glance will perhaps show that such is not the case, but he will still regret that the designer did not consult uniformity by the addition of so desirable a finish. He may by this time have perceived that the front he is contemplating is a mixture of various dates and styles, but he will as yet perceive nothing that will explain its real nature and history ; he will still consider that the enormous central window is the west window of the nave, and that the tower terminates the north aisle ; a small lean-to to the north may perhaps, among so many far more magnificent objects, pass altogether unobserved, at any rate it will not be looked on as more than a double aisle or similar excrescence. But upon that lean-to depends our visitor's chance of finding the key to the history of the building ; if, as is most probable, attracted by the splendour of some of the noblest Decorated work in England, he takes the turn to the south, he must still for a while remain ignorant of it. He will there pass along a range of windows of almost unparalleled splendour, till he comes to the east end of the aisle, where, instead of a goodly chancel stretching beyond, his aspirations will be cut short by a dead, ugly wall, with two or three unsightly windows irregularly pierced in it. It requires no long process of thought to discover that the church is imperfect ; but the destroyed portion might well have consisted of a choir prolonged from the central portion of the west front, and continuations of the Decorated south side and of that terminated by the tower might well figure as aisles by the side of it. The arrangements of the churchyard will now compel him to retrace his steps, and pass along by the west front, to reach the north side. He will now perceive that the

lean-to excrescence which he had so cavalierly passed by is of somewhat more importance than he was at first inclined to allow to it; it is at least as old as anything in the Church, clearly belonging to the Romanesque lower portion of the tower. Turning round the north-west corner, a new light will flash upon his mind: the lean-to is hardly a double aisle, the building terminated by the tower is hardly an aisle at all; at least it rises above the lower one with unusual bulk and majesty, furnished withal with a genuine Norman clerestory, no very common adjunct to a subordinate portion of a church. Our inquirer will now begin to understand, what a visit to the interior will make positively certain, that the building terminated by the tower is the real original nave, and that it is the splendid structure to the south of it and not the humble lean-to cowering under its shadow to the north, which forms the true anomaly and excrescence. In short, Leominster Church consists of the western limb of a large cruciform conventional church, whose southern aisle has given way to a magnificent structure almost entitled to be considered as, what it practically is, a distinct, and, in some respects, more beautiful church. The tower stands engaged at the west end of the nave, the original aisle, with its lean-to roof, remaining to the north of it.

### § II.—THE NORMAN CHURCH.

**DATE AND EXTENT.**—The first event in the history of Leominster which concerns my present subject is the restoration of the monastery by Henry I. in 1125. Previous to that event the house had gone through various vicissitudes, it had changed its order and even its sex, and appears to have been twice altogether suppressed, first during the Danish wars, and again shortly after the Norman conquest. King Henry re-founded it as a cell to his new abbey of Reading, and we may be perfectly sure that the oldest portions of the present church were erected in connexion with that foundation. Indeed the church appears to have been built with unusual rapidity, as several minor altars are mentioned as having been conse-

erated shortly after 1130. Yet, as these would probably be in the eastern part of the church, we may still put the completion of the nave, and especially of the west front, where, as we shall see, the style is somewhat later, ten or even twenty years later. In so saying I am sorry to have to run counter to the authority of an anonymous guide-book which I purchased during my stay in Leominster, where the author soars quite beyond King Henry in the twelfth, and even King Merwald in the seventh century, arguing against certain comparatively reasonable antiquaries who had attributed to this part of the church an Anglo-Saxon origin, and assigning it to some indefinite period before St. David's removal from Caerleon.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "The two parts of which that style of building now called 'Saxon' is composed existed in this island centuries before their arrival. The round arch was the ingenious contrivance which distinguished the architecture of the Romans, who left behind them many beautiful specimens of it: to the Britons England is indebted for the massive circular column, the art of constructing which they imported with them from Asia, their original country. So that although the exact time in which the back aisle, or the old church of Leominster, was erected cannot now be ascertained, yet, instead of being referable to a Saxon origin, it is, strictly speaking, an assemblage, or a union, of two of the most ancient styles of architecture ever practised in Great Britain, and may vie, for the honour of antiquity, with the oldest religious edifice now existing in this island. The gable-roofed windows in the north side are of British construction, and resemble the windows of churches in Wales, which are known to have existed prior to the commencement of the Saxon heptarchy. This circumstance, joined to others, gives an air of plausibility to the traditional report, which assigns to this church, *Llan-lienau* or *Llan-leonau*, not only an era contemporary with the archiepiscopal or metropolitan church of *Caerleon* or *Caer-leonau*, but also a presidency over the suffragan churches of the northern, as the latter had over the southern, district of Gwenta, or Venta, resembling it as well in the dignity of its appropriation, as in the etymology of its name. Be this as it may, it is certain that the old church of Leominster existed many years before the foundation of the present cathedral of Hereford was laid, and is said to have been the capital or mother church of this district, so far back as the year 670, when Wulphere, after whose name this hundred is supposed to have been denominated Woolphy, reigned over Mercia."—pp. 147, 8.

The Romanesque church, as erected by, or at least through, Henry I., was a minster of the second order, of the complete cathedral type, and of considerable size, the nave measuring about 125 feet. It may rank, in point of size, with such churches as Romsey Abbey and Oxford Cathedral. The nave now alone remains, the transepts and choir having been destroyed at the Dissolution, so soon indeed that they had vanished before Leland's visit to the town. That writer speaks of the "church of the priory" having joined to the east end of the "parish church" and having been "but a small thing." I think this expression has been misunderstood, as if the priory church and the parish church had been two distinct structures. I conceive that by the parish church Leland means the nave and its appendages; and by the "church of the priory" the choir and other parts east of the rood-loft; it is simply the old story of the nave forming the parish church, while the choir formed the exclusive possession of the monks. The parochial part in such cases was left untouched at the dissolution, while the monastic or collegiate portion shared various fates according to the disposition of those into whose hands it came. Thus at Waltham, Malmesbury, Fotheringhay, and we may add Leominster, it was altogether destroyed; at Howden and Monkton simply ruined; at Dorchester and Tewkesbury, purchased and added to the parish church. And in the case of Dorchester we find an exact parallel to Leland's expression of "the church of the priory" to denote the choir: Richard Beauforest in his will bequeaths "the abbey church"<sup>4</sup> to the parishioners, though I believe there is no doubt that his benefaction extended solely to the choir, and that they were already in possession of the nave.

From Leland's expression that this priory church was "a small thing," I think we may infer that the eastern limb, as in many Norman churches, consisted merely of a short presbytery. If it had no greater projection than those of Kirkstall or Buildwas, it might well be called

<sup>4</sup> Addington's Dorchester, p. 98.

"a small thing," especially as compared with the enlarged dimensions of the other parts of the church. The "chancel of the Holy Cross," which received a new roof in 1389, may probably have been one of the transepts, or it may, with other chapels which are mentioned, have been among the additions in other parts. The Norman church certainly had transepts and lantern arches, and therefore probably a central tower, however low.

The Norman nave is perfect, and is a noble specimen of the simple majesty which that style can assume even in its most unadorned form. The architecture is remarkably plain, but in these grand fabrics ornament can be, and often is, entirely dispensed with, and is certainly never missed. Even the west front, which is the most elaborate portion, and where we do find some enriched strings and capitals, is by no means conspicuous for ornament. Within, the capitals of the west doorway and a few simple ornaments on the imposts of two or three of the piers, form the whole amount of enrichment throughout the building. Indeed for the most part the style is exhibited in its very severest form, with plain square-edged orders, without mouldings or nook-shafts. In this respect it affords a remarkable contrast to its neighbour, the cathedral of Hereford, where the Romanesque style is for the most part exhibited in so very elaborate form. Yet there is a small portion of that fabric, the chapel east of the south transept, which presents the very fac-simile of Leominster in its entirely unadorned character. It would be interesting, could we ascertain whether, in any of its peculiarities of style or arrangement, Leominster at all resembled that great abbey of which it was a dependency. But the destruction which has fallen upon the vast minster of Reading has been so nearly total that hardly any evidence can be extracted from it; while singularly enough the portions—the chapels east of the transepts—of which Reading retains most vestiges, are just those which at Leominster have entirely vanished. In one important point mother and daughter were at complete variance; at Reading the

conventional buildings were on the south side of the church, at Leominster on the north.

WEST TOWER.—The nave consists of seven bays, but of these the western one is now occupied by the tower; there seems indeed good reason to believe that a western tower, if not erected, at least formed part of the original design, so that this may be added to the list I have elsewhere drawn up<sup>5</sup> of churches which have formerly exhibited the now rare outline of Wimborne and Purton. But we may still further remark that, in having this second tower designed from the very first, Leominster differed from Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Malmsbury, in all of which cases it was a Perpendicular addition,<sup>6</sup> and agreed with no English example that I know of, except the prince of all, the stately cathedral of Ely.

Though the existing tower is a Perpendicular addition, yet the evidence in favour of a Norman one having been at least designed appears perfectly conclusive. The western bay is something quite distinct from all the rest, within and without. The present Perpendicular belfry arch in no sort disturbs the arrangements of the arcade, as it doubtless would, had it been a mere unexpected intruder; a mass of masonry is ready to receive its respond; the arrangements in all the three stages of the elevations are quite distinct on the two sides of the belfry arch; and the distinction is further marked by an arch being thrown across the aisle. Externally on the north side this bay is marked by a broader and taller pilaster in the clerestory, ready, as it were, to run up the tower, and by a corbel table which does not exist in the other bays. And, what amounts to proof positive, there are what I conceive to be the remains of the responds of a plain square-edged Norman arch across the nave, just where the present narrower Perpendicular arch is inserted.

No part however of the tower, if it was completed,

<sup>5</sup> Ecclesiologist, vol. xiii. p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> Furness Abbey, I find, is another example of the same class; here the tower was added *beyond* the nave, as at Wimborne, not *within* it, as at Shrewsbury.

remains above the height of the clerestory walls. But, as later architects have had the grace to spare the west window and doorway, we can make out pretty nearly the original west front. In some respects it suggests the recollection of that of Chepstow,<sup>7</sup> especially in the retention of the Norman west window through so many changes, but there is no special resemblance in detail. The tower or gable rose between two steep lean-tos, of which the northern one still exists and retains its old pitch, as appears by the chevron under the roof-line. The west window is an unusually large single round-headed one, with large shafts inside and out. The west door is very curious; the massive shafts have a singular air, but it is still more remarkable as being externally obtusely pointed. The pointed arch, as we know, was only just struggling into occasional use in England at this time; but its presence in a doorway is a still greater singularity, that being the very feature in which the round arch was so commonly retained for full a century longer. Within, the round arch is still employed; here, instead of the ordinary rear-arch, we have a receding series, on the same principle, though less extensive, as that without. This is a great advantage, as making the west doorway an ornamental feature within as well as without, whereas in not a few fine churches it remains internally a mere unsightly eyesore.<sup>8</sup> The capitals of this doorway, both within and without, should be attentively examined by the student of Romanesque detail, as they exhibit an interesting series of grotesque figures and patterns of fretwork.

Pilaster buttresses divide the west end from the termination of the nave aisles; smaller ones occupy the corners of the latter. The extent of the south aisle may be recognized in a break in the masonry under the present great west window. The main window of the north aisle no longer remains, a plain Early English triplet

<sup>7</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ii. New Series, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> See Llandaff Cathedral, p. 25.

having supplanted it, but a small circular one still exists above the vaulting.

**ARCADES OF THE NAVE.**—The nave arcades are a grand specimen of plain Norman work; the threefold division is well preserved, except that perhaps an unnecessary breach of unity is to be found in the fact that the bays of the triforium do not tally with those of the arcade below and the clerestory above. The arcades themselves are somewhat irregular. Of the seven bays, one, as we have said, is within the tower; here the responds are of two orders, perfectly plain and square-edged, as at Chepstow and St. Alban's. I should like some one who is a better mathematician than myself to decide whether the arch on the south side is really obtusely pointed, or whether it has merely given way in the crown. Its ambiguous form reminded me slightly of some of my old friends in Gower and Pembrokeshire. The arches east of the tower may be described as a series of plain round arches of two orders, rising from huge cylindrical piers with round imposts and cushion work to the quasi-capitals. But this series is not uninterrupted. In the second bay from the tower on each side there is a singular anomaly. Here there is a flat projection, such as doorways of this date are often set in, and in this a very tall and narrow round-headed arch is inserted. Of this singularity I can offer no explanation, and shall be much obliged by information from any quarter. In the eastern bay again, the series terminates, and we find quite low arches on each side, like mere doorways; in the northern one an Early English doorway has been inserted. These also are set in projections similar to the others. This circumstance I explain by considering that here would be the site of the rood-loft—the choir, as usual in Norman minsters, being under the central tower—the steps to the screen, and the altar or altars which doubtless stood to the west of it, still remain. Now the arcades are so low, that, had there been a regular arch in this bay, the loft would have entirely blocked it up, so it appears to me that the designers judged wisely in stopping the regular arcade at the sixth bay, and making

mere doorways from the east bay of the aisles into the space under the loft. The result of these interruptions is that there are actually only two real piers on each side. But these are noble specimens of the genuine English form, the vast cylindrical mass, which I now believe to be an heritage handed down from ante-Norman times.<sup>9</sup> Their use here is however remarkable, as, from the general tendency of the architecture, one would have rather expected to find the plain rectangular pier of several orders.

**TRIFORIUM AND CLERESTORY.**—The triforium, as I have said, does not agree with the arcade, there being here nine bays east of the tower. Each bay consists of an arch containing two smaller arches, all perfectly plain and square-edged. It would seem however that they can never have been really open as a passage, as the arches do not go through the wall, which does not appear to have been altered, the pilaster of the supposed tower being distinctly visible in the same masonry. But the bay in the tower is quite different; the arch is much larger, it has not, and cannot have had, any smaller arches comprised in it, and it goes through the wall, being still open on the north side.

In the clerestory the number of windows returns to that of the pier arches. The windows are perfectly plain, splayed, but without any passage. Between each window are two blank arches, quite plain and square-edged. Small pilasters divide the bays externally. Within, this portion has been much disfigured by many of the arches being decapitated by the miserable wooden roof which forms a most unworthy covering to this stately nave.

**AISLES.**—The south aisle, as we have seen, no longer exists in its original form, and the northern one has been subjected to much patching and mutilation, which it may be more convenient to allude to here than in strict chronological order. I mentioned that the western bay was originally separated by an arch from the rest of the aisle;

<sup>9</sup> History of Architecture, p. 240. Archaeological Journal, vii. p. 155.

at some later period this arch was blocked with a solid wall. On the west face of this wall remain considerable traces of mural paintings; the date, subject, and merit of them I must leave to others better versed in that branch of archaeology; but I may be allowed to express a hope that somewhat better care than at present seems to be the case may be taken both of them and generally of this curious portion of the church, which is now blocked off as a coalhole. This bay is the only part of the aisle, or indeed of the whole church, which is at present vaulted; consequently over it the triforium is a real passage, now leading to the ringers' gallery, and therefore abandoned to a disgusting state of filth. The vault is very plain, irregular, and rough quadripartite; there are no signs of any intention to continue it in the rest of the aisle, and indeed vaulting could hardly have co-existed with the singular projections in the second bay from the tower. This bay contains the only Norman window, now blocked, remaining in the aisle. How much of the aisle wall is part of the original work is hard to discover. It appears to have undergone much patching, both in early and later times, and we must especially remember that the cloister stood against this wall of the church, and its erection and demolition could hardly have been effected without a great disturbance of the masonry. Three windows under dormer gables, as at Brecon and Malmesbury, appear in this aisle; but I am afraid that the stern laws of architectural science will not allow us to assign to them the primitive antiquity so fondly claimed by the author of the *Leominster Guide*. I fear that they never shed their light on the ministrations of any aboriginal contemporary of St. Teilo or St. David, or indeed on those of any one earlier than a possibly Norman intruder of the thirteenth century. The earliest and largest contains a plain Early English quintuplet, doubtless from the same hand as the similar triplet inserted in the west end of the aisle; the other two are very late and bungling insertions; though their tracery recalls a form, unsightly enough certainly, but

usual in that district at an earlier period. In these two last the whole of the upper part is of wood ; and even in the other, part of the gable is, at present at least, of that material. The cause of this arrangement, as I have explained with regard to the similar case at Malmesbury<sup>1</sup> is doubtless to be found in the presence of the cloister, which required the windows to be set high in the wall, so that there was not sufficient room for anything more than the small lights with which the Norman architects were contented, unless the head of the window were carried up into the roof. The Norman string breaks off within at a point just east of the vaulted bay, and does not reappear until just east of the quintuplet. Without, the string may be faintly traced, and the basement moulding more distinctly, to a point more to the east, somewhat west of the quintuplet; but part of the wall above the string has been rebuilt to introduce a very unsightly window, and there seems a certain amount of patching also below. At this point the string and basement break off, this marking probably the western limit of the cloister. I did not perceive any distinct marks of its western wall, but it is quite possible that it may have been of some irregular form, like those at Hereford and St. David's. At any rate there is a marked change in strings and masonry from this point. I even flattered myself that I could discern some slight traces of the vaulting of the cloister, and the string below the dormer window seems more certainly from its underside to have rested upon a roof. Near the point of junction is a small Perpendicular doorway which must have led to the cloister ; it is however placed so low, that it could hardly have been accessible except by steps from the church. The ground has probably been raised, as the floor certainly has within, where it conceals the bases of the piers ; but hardly enough to account for so marked a difference.

The eastern bay of this aisle appears to have been destroyed with the choir and transepts at the Dissolution,

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiologist, u. s.

and much further patching is the result. A wall was necessarily built across the end of the aisle against the wall continued from the arcade. It is perhaps too much to expect to be able to account for every botch and seam in a building which has undergone so much change and mutilation as this, but the circumstance of the destruction having extended to this bay may possibly suggest the idea that the transept had a western aisle, a notion however which I do not start with any confidence. I may mention that a roof-line against this cross wall is merely that of a shed which has been recently removed, at which time the ground was cleared, and the basement of the wall continued from the arcade was brought to light. The consequence is that the doorway which I before mentioned in the eastern bay of the aisle is now external ; above it is what appears to be the way to the rood-loft, but I could find no sign of it within. At the same time a Debased window appears to have been inserted in the triforium range.

**CHOIR AND TRANSEPTS.**—I rest my belief that the Norman church was furnished with transepts, besides the *a priori* probability, amounting nearly to moral certainty, that such would be the case in a Norman minster, on certain appearances at the east end, small indeed, but sufficient, I think, for that purpose. We find there, now converted into buttresses, some projections which seem to me to have formed a pier of the west and north arches of the lantern ; they are of the same square-edged character which might be expected from the general character of the church ; a single impost ranging with them may also be discerned within. The effect of arches of this scale of such extreme severity of style must have been singularly striking. There is of course a similar example of still grander dimensions at St. Albans, but there they are of far greater, even proportionate, height, while at Leominster the prevailing dimension must certainly have been breadth. The remarkable thing is that, in this case, the destroyers were not, as at Malmsbury for instance, satisfied with building up the western arch of the lantern,

still less did they, as at Usk and Chepstow, leave the original central tower at the east end of the reduced building;<sup>2</sup> they entered upon what seems rather an unnecessary piece of demolition, inasmuch as the whole east end, except the small fragments I have mentioned, was pulled completely down, and a new east end erected with buttresses and a Debased east window. Advancing along the present east end for about fifty feet north of the lantern pier, some appearances are found which seem to mark the extent of the transept in this direction. Close to the ground there still remains the stump of a rectangular pilaster, such as enter into the formation of the responds throughout the church. If the transepts had western aisles, this may be a portion of one of their responds; if not, it may be in some way connected with the south end of the transept; an exactly similar projection appears at the west end of the nave. Anyhow it seems to be a genuine Norman relic, and to mark the southern limit of the transept. Again, the wall turning eastward from this point, and forming the boundary between the churchyard and the workhouse premises which now cover the site of the choir, transepts and cloister, contains, rude and patched as it is, some portions which look very much as if they were *in situ*. A Decorated tomb with ball-flower can hardly be otherwise, and above it are pieces of a Norman

<sup>2</sup> This difference would seem to imply that at Usk and Chepstow the choir had been moved eastward of the tower, so that the area of the latter was no longer considered as belonging to the monastic portion of the church. Besides, in these instances the destruction of the central tower would have left the church altogether towerless, while Malmesbury and Leominster had also western towers. Perhaps however this latter motive would not alone have been sufficient to account for their preservation, seeing that at Tewkesbury the central tower—the only one—formed part of the purchase of the parishioners, having been previously destined to destruction, while at Waltham the central tower was actually destroyed, and a western one subsequently added by the parishioners as its substitute. In speaking of Chepstow, it must be remembered that there a very similar change to this last took place at a later period from other causes. I ought to have mentioned Chepstow, while treating of Malmesbury, as another instance of a western tower built *within* an earlier nave.

string, shaken and shattered indeed, but still, I think, too regularly placed to be mere accidental fragments. I cannot help suspecting that we have here a genuine portion of the south wall of the transept. At its eastern finish we must be content to guess.

Such was the Norman priory church of Leominster, a noble example of the grandeur and simplicity of its magnificent style. What remains of it, we have seen, is comparatively little altered; but we have now to consider the remarkable additions made to it at a later period, which have so completely altered the general character of the building.

### § III.—ADDITIONS TO THE NORMAN CHURCH.

**EARLY ENGLISH ADDITIONS.**—In 1239 the church was reconsecrated. The alterations of which we may safely presume this ceremony to have been the consummation were more extensive than might at first sight appear. There is now very little Early English work in the church. I have already mentioned two insertions of windows in that style in the Norman portion; besides this nothing remains except the inner and outer doorways of the porch, a piscina in the extreme south aisle, and the part of the west front in which the great west window is inserted; this last the pilaster and its strings claim as belonging to this period, while the extreme south portion is clearly wholly Decorated. But for the porch and piscina, one might conclude that the Early English work extended no farther south than the pilaster, and that the Decorated work was strictly an addition. But those portions appear sufficient proof that it was during the Early English period that the church was enlarged to its present extent southwards.

That is to say, the external wall of the south aisle of the Norman church was taken down, without disturbing the south arcade of the nave, and, instead of the narrow Norman aisle, a large fabric was erected of the same length and height, and greater width, than the remaining portion of the Norman church, divided by an arcade into two

bodies or aisles, the northern one of which, by its external treatment, was evidently designed to supplant the old Norman fabric as the nave of the church. These two form the portion now retained for divine service, and they alone constitute a church of considerable dimensions, though naturally somewhat strange in its appearance and proportions. The inner face of the old arcade, its low massive arches, blank triforium, and clerestory above,<sup>3</sup> must always have had a strange effect in the interior of a church; still stranger is it now, when the massive piers and arches just contrive to peep out from a mass of pews, galleries, staircases, and flimsy partitions. The clerestory windows are partially blocked; owing to the oddness of proportion thus induced, the effect is much more singular than if they had been wholly so. It is remarkable that, while so important and permanent an addition was made during the Early English period, so very little work of that style should actually exist. The south wall and arcade have been rebuilt and a new west window inserted, so that the porch doorways, pilaster, and piscina alone remain to tell their story. The porch seems to have been at this period designed for vaulting, which, as is so often the case, has never been added. The porch doorways are rather rich, with flowered capitals, but both mouldings and bowtell are oddly arranged, seeming to disregard the system of orders, and being somewhat shallow. They reminded me a little of some examples in Cardiganshire and Merionethshire, as at Strata Florida, Cymmer, Llanaber, and Llanbadarn-fawr; but they have nothing in com-

<sup>3</sup> For the effect of the clerestory, compare on a small scale St. Wollos at Newport.—*Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ii. New Series, p. 183. Since this was written, I have seen another instance, exactly similar to St. Wollos, except that the alteration was made during the Early English period, in the very remarkable church of Clun, which was visited in one of the excursions from Ludlow. Clun also bears a little on the addition of western towers, one having been built up against a pre-existing front, not much older than itself, just as in the parish church at Much Wenlock.

mon with the peculiar style of Early English stretching from Wells and Glastonbury to St. David's.\*

The entire reconstruction of the east end at a later period prevents our ascertaining with certainty the manner in which these additions were worked into harmony with the transepts of the Norman church. It would have been nothing extraordinary if the south transept had been completely swallowed up, and the new building continued as far east alongside of the choir as its designers thought good to carry it. This, to compare small things with great, was done in the remarkable little church of Whitchurch near Bristol. But it does not seem to have been the case here; clearly not, if my supposed fragments of the south transept be authentic; and in any case, the extreme southern aisle seems never to have reached farther eastward than it does at present. According to my view it must have extended a good deal to the south of the south transept. The effect of this may be judged of by that of Wedmore Church in Somerset, which has a southern transept and attached southern chapel in exactly the relation in which I suppose these to have stood to one another.

I do not know if there is any record of the reason for these extensive additions to the church; but I cannot help suspecting that they must have arisen out of some of those dissensions which we know were, in such cases, too apt to take place between the monks and the parishioners. The latter might perhaps have desired a place of worship more distinct from the former than the old nave of the priory church, and may for that reason have erected this, which must have been then, as now, to all intents and purposes, a second nave. If so, there was an additional reason for confining the sphere of their operations to the space west of the transept. If the latter had a western aisle, it must have been swallowed up, like the south aisle of the nave, and the arcade would remain between the transept and the new work. If not, we are left to con-

\* See History of St. David's, p. 64; Llandaff Cathedral, p. 28.

jecture what kind of arches, doorways, or screens, were employed to promote or hinder access from one to the other. Anyhow I fear we shall learn little from our friend the *Guide*, who informs us that "the interior was fitted up as a collegiate church, with stalls, chantries, chancels, and chapels." But it is perhaps too much to expect to extract information from an author who appears to consider<sup>5</sup> that Bishop Burnet had some hand in the dissolution of Reading Abbey, a theory which I can match by one developed by a poet of an adjoining county to the effect that the destruction of such institutions in general was the work of that prelate's great patron.

DECORATED CHANGES.—During the later days of the Geometrical or Early Decorated style the extreme south aisle was rebuilt in a form of singular magnificence, being in fact one of the noblest examples in existence of that variety of Gothic architecture. The southern portion of the west front was now rebuilt, with a polygonal stair turret at the angle, and a bell-cot near the juncture of this work with the Early English. This last feature may possibly tend to prove that the contemplated Norman western tower had never been erected. This was evidently the bell for parish mass, leaving the monks in undisturbed possession of whatever peal may have existed in the central tower. The porch was now recast in the new style, retaining only its actual doorways. Three niches with ball-flower now appear, and we must remark the pinnacles, octagons set on squares, forming the exact miniature of a broach spire. This I conceive is a localism, as I find it in Decorated work in the very interesting churches of Bodenham and Marden. But the glory of this period is the south side of the church, with its series of five magnificent windows of equal size regularly arranged between buttresses. There being no clerestory in this part of the church, the aisle wall is the full height, an arrangement which, as I have observed in the case of Dorchester,<sup>6</sup> is peculiarly

<sup>5</sup> Page 91.

<sup>6</sup> Archaeological Journal, ix. p. 163.

adapted for producing ranges of splendid windows. It is almost impossible to avoid comparing Dorchester and Leominster in this respect; of course in point of detail the former sinks into utter insignificance, but I am not sure that its greater length does not give it a greater stateliness of general effect. The arrangement is one which demands length to be the predominant dimension, and Leominster certainly looks a little cut short. The windows themselves ought to be generally known, as appearing in Mr. Sharpe's work on Decorated Windows; their main lines are of the simplest Geometrical form, but the filling in with Foil figures is, as a mere matter of tracery, exceedingly rich, and appears to be a local variety. Similar examples occur in the tower of Hereford Cathedral, the north aisle of Ludlow Church, and the chancel at Marden. In the west front of Ludlow there still are, as was pointed out by Mr. Penson in his admirable paper on that church, the remains of a window which was probably identical with these at Leominster, being of four lights with ball-flower. This latter ornament does not occur in the smaller examples at Ludlow and Marden, but at Leominster the whole composition, jambs, mullions, and tracery, are profusely loaded with it. The lavish use of this beautiful enrichment seems to be a localism of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire; I need not do more than mention their respective cathedrals, in the south aisle of the one and the tower of the other. This at once distinguishes the Decorated of this district from Gower's variety at St. David's. Beautiful however as these windows are, I cannot help suggesting that the secondary mullions are too thin, and some of the eyes in the secondary circles would be better open;<sup>7</sup> they produce a certain appearance of insecurity. The window in the west front is of the same kind; some parts of it have been creditably restored, more than I can say for two on the

<sup>7</sup> I have to thank Mr. Penson for the remark, which ought to have occurred to myself, that this peculiarity is owing to the work being left unfinished, some of the eyes being open, others not.

south side, which were shorn of their magnificent tracery in 1812 and common intersecting mullions substituted. The pedimented buttresses between these windows are rather plain, being through a great portion of their height without any set off; the parapet is very good, pierced with trefoil arches cut in the solid. The Decorated strings go a little way round the east end, where they are met by the later work; the east window is a wretched affair, but the south transept must have always hindered the existence of one worthy to be the crowning point of such a series. Within, three beautiful sedilia, rich with ball-flower, have been added to the Early English piscina; they are now much disfigured by a modern partition cutting across them.

PERPENDICULAR CHANGES.—The great work of the Perpendicular æra was the completion or re-erection of the north-western tower, which seems to be early in the style, retaining something of Decorated character in its windows and still more in the use of the ball-flower<sup>a</sup> in the panelling of its parapet. The pinnacles also are of the broach-spire form already mentioned. There is nothing remarkable about this tower, which is the most purely parochial thing about the church, except the way in which it is fitted on to the Norman work below. Now there is a tradition that this tower supplanted a spire. This is mentioned by Price, but the author of the anonymous *Guide* improves upon his predecessor, informing us “that the lower part of the tower is of Saxon workmanship, and originally terminated in a short spire, on the top of which was fixed a long iron rod, supporting a gilt weathercock.” Farther on we learn that some time between Henry I. and Henry III., a period during which, as the writer truly enough observes, “great alterations

<sup>a</sup> The ball-flower in this district evidently came into use earlier, and was retained later, than was usual elsewhere. Of the latter phænomenon we have here an example; of the former I have again to thank Mr. Penson for calling my attention to the singular east window of the south aisle at Richard's Castle.

were introduced into the style of religious architecture," "the old spire was taken down, and the upper part of the tower rebuilt in the pointed style and embattled." Now, unless there is some confusion with the central tower, which may possibly enough have had a spire, one is led to suppose that the notion of its having existed must have originated in the way in which the Perpendicular work is joined to the Norman. The new stage is much smaller than the old, and is set back from the west wall with a slope, in a manner not very easy to describe, but which looks most temptingly like a tower clapped down right into the middle of a broach spire, the pilasters seeming to support the squinches. But, to say nothing of the general improbability of such a proceeding, it is clear that no spire could ever have sprung from this point, only level with the clerestory walls, or what could have become of the nave roof, doubtless originally of lofty pitch? Nor are any traces seen except at the west end; on the south side the diminution in thickness has been taken advantage of to make a passage on to the roof. In short, as is shown by the string, this slope is merely part of the Perpendicular work of the tower, and is a very ingenious way of recessing a smaller upper story. It is simply carrying out what is commonly seen to a smaller extent under belfry windows, at Ludlow perhaps a little more conspicuously than usual.

Within, a narrow Perpendicular belfry arch was thrown across the Norman nave, in the position occupied by its Norman predecessor. It is partially panelled, but, oddly enough, the ornament diminishes as it ascends, the lower stages of the respond being richer than the upper, and the actual soffit of the arch having none at all. At the same time three arches were thrown across the other three sides of the tower, with shafts between them, seemingly for a vault which has never been added. Of these arches the western one conceals the rear arch of the west window, but, by an unusual exercise of forbearance, that beautiful relic of the old church was spared any further alteration. It was really wonderful how

Perpendicular innovators could resist so grand an opportunity of making a new west window.

For the Early English composition, whatever was its nature, which occupied the next division of the west front, the designers of this period, or of one rather later, had much less respect. The superb window which has usurped its place seems later in the Perpendicular style than the tower, and has several points of resemblance to the west window of Gloucester Cathedral, on which however it is certainly a great improvement. Its bold simple pointed arch is far superior to the untoward form of that at Gloucester, and though taste or necessity reduced its authors to the same expedient of supporting its primary mullions by large detached buttresses, they are far from having the same heavy and awkward appearance.

Besides the tower and this window, there is no good Perpendicular work of any consequence in the church.

**LATER CHANGES.**—Of the effects of the dissolution of the monastery in the destruction of the monastic portion of the church I have found it more convenient to treat at an earlier stage of this essay. But a question might still be asked, What effect had the destruction of the south transept upon the east end of the Early English additions? This I am prevented from answering by reason of an unfortunate fire which took place in the year 1699, and whose devastations were so extensive that we ought to be very thankful that so large a portion of this splendid fabric is still preserved to us. It seems chiefly to have affected the interior and east end of the later portions; at least it was their east wall and the arcade between them which had to be rebuilt in consequence. Of the new east end I need only say that it is very distinguishable both in its masonry and in its central east window—the extreme southern one seems to have been renewed still more recently—from the work in a line with it of the date of the Dissolution. It is just the difference between extremely bad, but still living, Gothic and a mere imitation of its forms when they were no longer understood. The arcade is perhaps better,

five pointed arches resting upon tall round pillars ; they are likely to be no inapt representatives of their predecessors, when we consider that, the south aisle being the full height, the arcade was doubtless one of this form, as at Bristol and Dorchester.

The condition of the church might easily be improved. I am fully aware that perhaps no church in England must be more difficult to adapt to our present ritual ; the old Norman nave and the southern additions are practically two distinct churches, utterly impossible to be employed by a single congregation ; unless then, in so large a parish, they could anyhow be made available for distinct services, one portion must remain disused ; this of course is the Norman nave, as the smaller of the two. This part therefore remains in that state of neglect and desolation which almost always seizes upon some portion of a parochialized minster, and which is even more unpleasant than one of total ruin. Still even its uncleanly whitewash is less offensive to antiquarian eyes than the pewed, galleried, plastered and scored neatness of the adjoining portions, which has destroyed the evidence of masonry far more completely. Some of the large windows seem in a dangerous state ; and generally it would be desirable if the whole church could assume an uniform aspect, which might be a sort of *tertium quid* between the dreariness of one part and the spruceness of the other.

I have now said all I have to say more immediately relating to this noble minster. But we must not quit its precincts without casting at least a passing glance on the conventional buildings still remaining to its north-east. We here find a structure, boldly spanning the adjoining stream through its whole length, which, after passing through many vicissitudes, has at last settled down into the character of an union workhouse. Its adaptation to that purpose has robbed it of all beauty of outline, by raising its walls, lowering its roof, and inserting a row of ugly windows. Happily however, a goodly store of the original lancets still remain.

My subject is Leominster and not its neighbourhood ;

and I have seen far too few of the Herefordshire churches to attempt any such generalization as I have made in the cases of Gower, Monmouth, and South Pembroke.<sup>9</sup> But I cannot help recommending to your attention two very remarkable churches which I visited during my stay in Leominster. One is the church of Bodenham, a Decorated building of very singular and majestic outline; the other that of Marden, historically interesting as the supposed scene of the murder and first burial of St. Æthelberht, and architecturally no less so, as exhibiting, among other points worthy of notice, what is so great a rarity in English architecture, a trilateral apse. It is of the Geometrical style, and, apparently, as I have already implied, a plainer version of the south aisle of Leominster.

I now say farewell; hoping that, as this is not the first, so it may not be the last, time that I may have the pleasure of illustrating some portion of the architectural antiquities of Wales and its Marches under the auspices of the Cambrian Archaeological Association.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

<sup>9</sup> Since this paper was written, the excursions of the Association from Ludlow, and especially the able guidance of Mr. Penson, have introduced me to several more of their number. I have not seen many of much size or magnificence, but for picturesque outlines and singularities of detail, those Herefordshire churches which I have seen must rank among the most interesting in England. Marked peculiarities are the combination of high roofs with early clerestories, which produces a very stately external effect, and the singular position of the towers, which are not unfrequently detached. Richard's Castle is a very interesting church, Kingsland no less so, and they contain such studies of window tracery that I heartily regret that I had not the opportunity of enriching my work on that subject with some of the singular and beautiful patterns which they display.

## ANCIENT NAMES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

"Tri enw a ddoded ar Ynys Prydain o'r dechreuaed; cyn ei chyvaneddu y doded arni Clas Merddin, a gwedi ei chyvaneddu y doded arni y Vel Ynys, a gwedi gyrru gwledigaeth arni y gan Prydain ab Aedd Mawr y doded arni Ynys Prydain."—*Triad i.* Third Series.

THE first name which is traditionally assigned to our beloved country is variously written "Clas meitin,"<sup>1</sup> "Clas meiddin,"<sup>2</sup> and "Clas merddin."<sup>3</sup> "Clas," which signifies a *green surface*, or any *enclosed space of ground*, has suffered no variation during the development of the Welsh dialect, being still composed of primitive letters. "Meiddin" must have been originally the same as "Meitin," and its subsequent modification only indicates the sense in which the word was understood by the scribe, viz., that of a *range of mountains*. The same meaning, indeed, might have been attached to "meitin," by those who adopted the word in comparatively modern times, for the *dd* was not uniformly used long after its introduction into the alphabet, yet it is also possible that the naked form was retained under the impression that it was synonymous with "meityn," a term denoting *distance*, properly of time. Whichever of these interpretations be the correct one, whether the *green range of mountains*, or the *distant green spot*, it cannot be denied that both are equally suitable designations of the external or objective character of our island. Undoubtedly the verdant summits of our hills would convey to the mind of the roving mariner the first and only impressions respecting the country, and he would naturally talk of it on his return home, as the *green spot* he had seen in the far west a long time ago.

Appropriately descriptive, likewise, of the insular position of the place would be "Clas mertin," or merddin, which literally signifies the *sea-girt green spot*.

The cognomen being Celtic, could not, of course, have

<sup>1</sup> Another reading of *Triad i.* First Series.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Pughe's Dictionary, *sub voce* Clas.

<sup>3</sup> *Triad i.* Third Series. Iolo MSS. p. 1.

been invented but by some of that great Cimmerian family from whom Britain was afterwards colonised. Accordingly we are told in a Triad that the denominators were "y gal gre,"<sup>4</sup> probably the people of Gallo-Græcia,<sup>5</sup> or it may be, more generally, the Gallic horde.<sup>6</sup>

When the aboriginal colony first took possession of the island, they found in it an extraordinary quantity of honey,<sup>7</sup> which in their own language was called *mel*, and from that circumstance they styled it "Y vel Ynys," i. e. the Honey Isle. Such is the statement of the national memorials, and it is wonderfully confirmed by the testimony of Himilco, a Carthaginian general, who, as Festus Avienus relates, referred in his journal to the British isles under the name of *Oestrymnides*.<sup>8</sup> This appellation has been taken by some writers, absurdly enough, to mean the isle of gadflies; but as Pliny states the cestrus to be the *Apes grandiores*, *Oestrymnides* must surely mean the isle of bees. Nor is there any difficulty presented in the chronology. Himilco's voyage to the *Oestrymnides*, though not easily determined, and sometimes placed as late as 420 b.c., is generally placed as far back as 1000 before the Christian era; and the final abandonment of the name "Y vel Ynys," after having existed for upwards of 1000 years,<sup>9</sup> occurred, according to the bardic computation, about 600 years before the incarnation. There is no doubt that honey was abundant in this country in former times, for we find throughout our early records that the favourite beverage of the natives was made out of it, and even such words as *cyveddach* and *meddwdod* (revelling and drunkenness) seem to have originated in *medd* (mead). The following

<sup>4</sup> *Sub voce* Prydain.

<sup>5</sup> This cannot refer to the colony which settled there under Brennus, b.c. 278, but must mean the earlier inhabitants, the compiler designating their country by the name it generally bore in his own time.

<sup>6</sup> Gre, several together, a flock, a herd. <sup>7</sup> Iolo MSS. p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Celtic Researches, p. 228. From Bochart's Canaan, lib. i. c. 35, 39.

<sup>9</sup> Iolo MSS. p. 412. According to another chronicle, p. 429, 849 years.

notice which occurs in the Welsh Laws shows that bees were regarded by our ancestors, in later times at least, with a sort of religious veneration :—

“ Bees derive their origin from Paradise, and because of the sin of man did they come from thence, and God conferred on them his blessing, and therefore mass cannot be chanted without their wax.”<sup>1</sup>

But some persons, though they do not dispute the application of the name, give it however a different interpretation, taking it to signify the isle of Bel. This hypothesis they ground upon the alleged enumeration of Bel or Baal among the British gods. There is no doubt that the worship of Bel was at one time practised in Britain, but it may be questioned whether it was of indigenous growth, or carried to any considerable extent. The national traditions, while they admit that the Cymry did in the earliest period of their historical existence, fall into idolatry,<sup>2</sup> maintain that they afterwards recovered a knowledge of the true God<sup>3</sup> and embodied it into their theological code as one of the fundamental doctrines of druidism :—

“ There are three primeval Unities, and more than one of each cannot exist : ONE GOD, one Truth, and one point of Liberty ; and this is where all opposites equiponderate.”<sup>4</sup>

They assert, moreover, that the Irish, the Cymry of Armorica, and the Germans “ corrupted what was taught them of the British bardism, blending with it heterogeneous principles, by which means they lost it,”<sup>5</sup> a statement which is partly confirmed by the testimony of Julius Cæsar, where he says that druidism originated in Britain, and that the Gauls who wished to gain a perfect knowledge of its principles, resorted thither for the purpose.<sup>6</sup>

Now it is remarkable that the several altars dedicated

<sup>1</sup> *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. iii. c. v. sec. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See ancient documents cited in *Coelbren y Beirdd*, by Taliesin ab Iolo. <sup>3</sup> Iolo MSS. p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> *Theological Triads apud E. Williams' Poems*, vol. ii. p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> *Institutional Triads*, *ibid.* p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 18.

to BELI DUW CADWYR, "Beli, the god of warriors," which were dug up in the last century, were found almost exclusively in the territory of the Brigantes, a tribe which, though originally of the Cimbric stock, appears to have been of a comparatively late importation, and closely connected with the Irish nation. At any rate it was, in the time of Claudius, a stranger to that patriotism which always distinguished the Cymry, otherwise its queen would not have betrayed the Silurian hero into the hands of his enemies.

The Brigantes, under the influence of a corrupt theology which they had probably learned previous to their immigration into this country, might have misunderstood the attention paid by the Cymry to solar aspects in the erection of their circles, and the holding of their congresses for divine adoration, even as the Cymry themselves had formerly regarded as gods the rods of science which bore only the name of the deity,<sup>7</sup> and thus adopted the worship of Bel, as being, in their opinion, the national religion. Or, indeed, it might have been the Romans that committed the mistake in this instance, for it is remarkable that the inscriptions on the altars clearly prove, as far as they go, that they were the oblations of that people exclusively.<sup>8</sup> No monumental vestige of idolatry has yet been discovered among the Cymry proper.

Ynys Bell, *the distant isle*, would not be an inapt designation of Britain considered externally, but the description of course fails when it comes from the mouths of occupants, and it was after it was colonised, we are told, it received the name of "Ynys Vel."

There is a fragment of a poem, apparently of the age of Beli Mawr, father of Cassivelaunus, from which we learn that the island was even then occasionally designated by the title of "Ynys Vel;" it is printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, vol i. p. 73, and is as follows:—

<sup>7</sup> Coelbren y Beirdd.

<sup>8</sup> E. g. DEO MARTI BELATVCADRO Romanus votum reddidit, inscribed on an altar which was discovered at Netherby, in 1760.

"I will earnestly sing thy praise,  
 Victorious Beli,  
 Who protectest the privileges  
 Of the Honey Isle of Beli."

This however continued as its sole appellation for 849 years, or according to another chronology for 1063 years, that is until the time of Prydain ab Aedd Mawr, from whom, in consequence of the political revolution which he effected, it received the name of "Ynys Prydain," which it still bears.

The name Prydain, *Anglicè Britain*, through ignorance of this simple tradition, has been much discussed, and traced to various sources. Thus, some historians derive it from the Welsh "Pryd cain," *fair aspect*; or, "Briton," *above the wave*; some from the Irish "Braiden," *an extensive country*; some from the Hebrew "Berith-tan," *separate country*; some from the Phœnician "Baratanac," *the land of tin*; some from the Latin "Brutus," and indeed in support of this last name a Triad may be adduced, which says,—

"After it was conquered by Brutus, it was called the isle of Brutus."<sup>9</sup>

As this statement, however, runs counter to all the bardic traditions on the subject, it may safely be regarded as a forgery, having been perpetrated by some scribe of the Armorican or Mabinogion school.

Prydain flourished, according to the bardic computation, 605 years before Beli Mawr. It was he who first consolidated the several states of Britain under one sovereign, on which account he was ranked as one of the three national pillars of the island. And not only was the country called after his name, but, in after times, the old British constitution became distinguished as the regulation of Prydain.

JOHN WILLIAMS ab Ithel.

<sup>9</sup> Triad i. First Series.

## STOKESAY.

THE following paper on the history of Stokesay has been kindly furnished by Mrs. Stackhouse Acton. The paper as sent to us comprised also an architectural description, but as that has been fully given, with illustrations, by Mr. Hudson Turner in his recent work on *Domestic Architecture*, it has been omitted here:—

At the time of the Norman conquest, the manor of Stoke was held by *Aldred*, a freeman, under *Edric Pylvaticus*, a powerful Saxon Thane; but on *Edric* joining in a revolt of the Welsh, his estates were seized by the king, and in 1070 the earldom of Shrewsbury, with 357 manors in Shropshire, were conferred by the Conqueror on his kinsman *Roger de Montgomery*.

Among them was Stoke, which Earl *Roger* granted with twenty-two others to *Walter de Lacy*, one of his Norman followers. It is stated in the Domesday Survey to have contained fourteen carucates of land in cultivation, (of which five were demesnes,) and 960 of waste, twenty villeins, nine *fæmina cotarensis*, a mill paying nine measures of wheat, a miller, and a keeper of bees.

After the death of *Roger de Montgomery*, and of his eldest son, his estates were forfeited, and Stoke again fell to the crown, in consequence of *Robert de Belesme*, the younger son, having espoused the cause of *Robert Duke of Normandy* in his attempt to obtain the English throne. The greater part of his Norman followers returned to their own country; but *Walter de Lacy* having speedily resumed his allegiance, obtained a pardon and was allowed to hold Stoke and other estates from the king *in capite*.

During the tenure of the Lacs, it was bestowed by them as superior lords on a branch of the family of Say, Lord of Clun and Richard's Castle, of whom *Theoderic de Say*, in 1156, gave the advowson of Stokesay (the first time so called) to the abbey of Haughmond, confirmed by *Hugh de Laci* as chief lord, and he also gave some land at Stoke to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Shrewsbury.

Though the name of Say has been retained, the manor does not appear to have been long held by that family, for it had reverted to the Lacs before the accession of Henry III., and continued in their holding during several generations, till on the death of *Walter de Laci* in 1240, his estates were divided between two grand-daughters; *Margery*, the youngest, married *John de Verdon*, and received Stoke as a part of her portion.

It does not appear at what period the crown again resumed possession of Stokesay, but early in the reign of Edward I., "Lawrence de Ludlo tenet villa de Stoke-Say for one knight's fee of John de Grey, and the said John de Grey holds it of the king *in capite*." Lawrence was the son of William de Ludelow, of a family who had their origin in the town of that name, and from which the Parliamentary General descended. The Patent Rolls show that, in the 19th of Edward I., he obtained a license "quod ipse Mansum de Stok-Say in comitatu Salop, muro de petra et calce firmare, et kernellare, tenere posuit sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum."

It remained in this family for many generations, till on the death, in 1498, of Sir Richard Ludlowe, whose wife was the daughter of Edward Grey Lord of Powys, it passed to his son John, who left two daughters, who both married sons of Sir Henry Vernon, of Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, and of Tonge, in Shropshire; and the youngest, Anne, with her husband, Thomas Vernon, took up their residence at Stokesay. They were living there when Leland visited Shropshire, by whom it is twice noticed in his *Itinerary*:—"Aboot V miles owt of Ludlo, betwixt Ludlo and Bishop Castle, Stoke Say belonging some time to the Ludlo's, now to the Vernons, builded like a Castell—V miles owt of Ludo." Again he says on his way to Bishop Castle,—"There is alsoe a bridge at Whister of Stone near Oney, above Mr. Vernon hath a place, not far from Oney."

The son and grandson of Mr. Vernon made Stoke their residence; the latter styled himself Lord Powys, as the direct maternal descendant of Edward Grey Lord Powis; he died in 1607, leaving his estates to his sister Aleonora, wife to Francis Curzan of Kedleston, county Derby, but he had previously sold Stokesay to Sir George and Sir Arthur Mainwaring, by whom in 1616 it was conveyed in some family settlement to Richard Brooke, Sir Thomas Baker, and Sir Richard Francis. Four years later it was resold, together with other adjoining estates, to Dame Elizabeth Craven (widow of Sir William Craven, citizen and alderman of London), and Sir William Craven her son, and it has continued in the possession of their descendants to the present time.

Stokesay has never been occupied by them as a residence, but was let on a long lease by the first Lord Craven to Charles Baldwin, of Elsich, county Salop, and his heirs. During the civil wars it was inhabited by Sir Samuel Baldwin, serjeant-at-law, and was garrisoned for the king, both Lord Craven and the Baldwins being staunch loyalists, and in consequence were heavily fined by the Long Parliament.

The following account of the taking of Stoke, by a party sent out by the parliamentary committee at Shrewsbury, is copied from a quaint old work, entitled *The Burning Bush not Consumed*, by John Vickare :—

“ There was drawn out of this garrison (Shrewsbury) by order from the Committee 500 foot, & 300 horse, being part of Col: Mackworth’s regiment, & part of Col: Lloyds regt—Our forces marched within 5 miles of Ludlow, the design being to reduce that part of the Country, & to secure it, by placing garrisons there to block up Ludlow. With a party of horse they viewed Holgate & Braincroft Castles both of which the enemy had demolished, notwithstanding they placed the Lord Colvine in Braincroft (Broncroft) Castle, & fell to repaire & fortify it. In the interim they sent Lieut. Rivelin to view Stoke-say, a garrison of the enemy. The place was considerable, therefore the next morning wee drew up to it, & summond it, but the Governor Capt. Daurett refused: whereupon we prepared for a storm, and being ready to fall on, we gave a second summons, which was hearkened unto, a party admitted, and it is now garrisoned for us. One of these castles commands Cowe Dale, a rich & varied Country; the other secures Stretton Dale, so that Ludlow is now blockt up on this side, & hath only Hereford to raigne in.

“ Continuing in these parts for the securing of the Garrisons—

“ Sir Michael Woodhouse, one that cometh out of Ireland, & Governor of Ludlow, procured all the Garrisons for 20 miles round to turn out for his relief. Col: Lunsford from Monmouth, Col: Sandys from Worcester, Col: Scudamere from Hereford, Sir Michael Woodhouse from Ludlow, forces from Hartlebury & other Garrisons, all of which made a body of about 200 horse & foot, which marched up near Braincroft (Broncroft) Castle, & being too weak to encounter with them, marched to Wistanstow, within a mile of Stoak, the better to enforce ourselves from Shrewsbury & Montgomery, whither we sent for forces (but came not in time enough). The enemy contrary to our expectations judging Stoak of more consequence made haste thither to besiege it, of whose approach the Col: having intelligence, with the advice of the field Officers resolving to fight, our horse made what haste they could to fight in Capt. Ffowkes troop, to which were joined some reformadirs, fell upon a body of the enemys horse, being 200, and routed them; the foot marched on with gallant resolution, beat up all their ambuscades in the hedges for a mile together, untill they came to the main body, which after an hours fight was routed & dispersed.

“ In this business Col: Rivelin deserves much honour, as much as a man could do, and also the other Col<sup>s</sup> did very gallantly.

“ We slew near to 100 on the place, took above 300 common soldiers, about 60 officers & gentlemen, & all their Ordnance, bag & baggage, 4 barrels of powder, a good quantity of match & bullets, 100 horse. Some gentlemen of quality were slaine, these being most of the gallantry of Herefordshire.

"In the action Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Croft, the best head piece and activest man in that County, was slaine on the place, the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Monmouth & Ludlow hardly escaped, Sir Michael Woodhouse, his horse being taken.

"The glory of this great action belongs only to God, who was pleased to make weak means instruments to do so great a work.

"Major Fenwick who behaved himself gallantly is wounded, but wee hope not mortally.

"These were taken in the fight. Col: Tho<sup>s</sup> Broughton—Capt. Walter Neale—Capt. George Wright—Capt. Tho<sup>s</sup> Stot—Capt. Leinton Synge—9 Quarter Masters—7 Corporals—5 Waggons—3 Mattresses, Mr. Richard Richardson, Chirurgeon, & many others."

This engagement seems to have been of one of some importance, as it is noticed in most of the newspapers of the day, with great incorrectness both as to the site of the battle and the glory of it.

In 1647, when nearly every place of strength had been wrested from the king, an order was issued by the Parliament that Stokesay, together with several other castles in Shropshire, should be slighted.

A letter from Sir Symon Archer to Sir William Dugdale is published in the *Diary* of the latter, mentioning a visit his "sonne Young" had paid to Mr. Baldwin at Stoke Castle, "as he rod the circuit," two years afterwards, which proves that the *slighting* had not so far dilapidated the mansion as to have prevented Mr. Baldwin residing there, and unless the top of the north tower may have been dismantled at that time, there is nothing to indicate that any extensive repairs were made soon after.

Charles Baldwin, who died in 1706, was the last inhabitant of the castle, for having married the heiress of Agualate in Staffordshire, his son settled on his maternal estate, and from that period Stokesay has been miserably neglected, and only used as out-buildings to an adjacent farmhouse.

Should this slight sketch ever meet the eye of its present worthy possessor and make him aware of the lively admiration and deep interest expressed for this beautiful and unique specimen of the domestic architecture of the thirteenth century, by the members of the Cambrian Archaeological Association on the occasion of their late visit to it, he might perhaps be induced to appropriate a portion of the liberal expenditure he allows for the benefit of his Shropshire tenantry for the gratification of antiquaries and lovers of the picturesque, in averting from Stoke, by a few repairs, the destruction that surely awaits it, if much longer neglected.

## THE POEMS OF TALIESIN.

## No. VII.

## TO GWALLAWG.

THE subject of this poem, and that treated of in our last paper, is Gwallawg, or Gwallog ab Lleenog, a prominent personage in the history and bardic poetry of the sixth century.

Lleenog, his father, is a personage but little known, and what little is known respecting him is scattered and appropriated to other supposititious persons, so that a superficial reader is led to imagine the information to be more scanty than it really is. In the *Iolo MSS.* we have the following verses among *Chwedlau'r Doethion*, or Sayings of the Wise :—

“A glywaist ti chwedl Lleynawg  
Milwr urddol ardderchawg?  
Gwell bedd na buchedd anghenawg.”  
*Iolo MSS.* p. 253.

This has been thus translated :—

Hast thou heard the saying of Lleynawg,  
The honoured and exalted warrior?  
Better a grave than a needy life.—*Iolo MSS.* p. 653.

The *Myvyrian Archaiology* (vol. i. p. 174) contains a copy of the same verses among *Englynion y Clywed*, but with a variation which furnishes a clue to further intelligence :—

“A glyweisti a gant Llenlyauc  
Guydel urdawl eurdochau  
Guell Bed no buchedd heghenauc.”

This is evidently the oldest of the two copies, and is supposed to be as old as the tenth century, because portions of two verses contained in the collection are quoted by Giraldus about 1188 A.D.; but with reference to the point under consideration, I believe it to be most inaccurate. This verse may be thus translated :—

Hast thou heard the saying of Llenllyawg,  
 The honoured gold-torque-wearing Gwyddelian ?  
 A grave is better than a needy life.

Here we have the same sentiment attributed to Lleynawg or Lleenog and Llen-Llyawc; and the question naturally arises, is this a case of one name in two forms? A little inquiry will enable us to furnish an affirmative reply. In the poem which forms the text of this article, we have the following lines:—

“Bint bydi derwy y bryt haf pryt *mab*  
*Lleenawg lliawg hamgwrwl gwmn.*”

Here we have the elements from which Llenllyauc has been formed; and a single glance will suffice to show that Llenllyauc is only a corruption of Lleen(awg)lliawg, in this passage. This is the name under which Lleenog is generally spoken of; and it becomes of importance to ascertain whether *lliawg* in these lines is predicated of Gwallog the son, or of Lleenog the father. In favour of the latter hypothesis, we have the fact that in romances and other late documents, we have the name Llenllyauc; and in favour of the former, we have the more conclusive fact that Gwallog is always called the son of Lleenog, and never the son of Llenllyauc. The solution of the question, to the best of my judgment, is this:—*First*,—That the name Llenllyauc has sprung from, and is, a corruption of this passage. *Second*,—That the romances have followed the *Englynion y Clywed* and not the uncorrupted original. *Third*,—That the epithet *lliawg*, flood-like, is predicated of Gwallog, and not of his father; and *Fourth*,—That the proper name is Lleenog and not Llenllyawg. It appears from these notices, Lleenog was a man of Gwyddelian extraction; that he was entitled to the mark of British nobility, the wearing of golden torque, and was a distinguished warrior. It would further seem from Taliesin's former poem that Lleenog turned saint in his latter days, and that he had a church named Llan Lleenog; but whether that was Anhunog as suggested before, Llanllugon in Montgomeryshire, or

some other place, is now uncertain. This view however is somewhat questionable; neither Lleenog nor Llenllyauc appear among the British Saints; and Llan though now generally signifying a church, has other and more primary meanings:—

Llan: primarily, a yard or inclosure, as in *Gwinllan*, vineyard; *Perllan*, orchard; *Ydlan*, rickyard; *Corfflan*, a churchyard; *Corlan*, a sheepfold—(*Dr. Davies and Richards*); and also, a smooth plot, a place of meeting, the church-place or village, and figuratively the church—(*Rev. Walter Davies, Cambrian Register*, i. p. 301); a clear place, area, or spot of ground to deposit anything in—(*Dr. Owen Pughe*).

Hence Llan Lleenog may mean nothing more than the residence of Lleenog; Gwallawg died in defending it, and a chieftain's house was more likely to need defence than a Christian church.

Gwallog was the son of Lleenog. Camden erroneously supposed him to have been the Caledonian chief Galgacus. Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks of him under the various designations of "Gwallawe of Amwythic," (Shrewsbury,) and "Gallucus, Earl of Salisbury." He was one of the knights present at Arthur's coronation at Caerleon, and his death is recorded by the same veracious chronicler to have taken place in the last conflict between that sovereign and the Romans in Gaul. This of course is fabulous, and the only foundation for the continental wars attributed to Arthur is the expedition of Riothimus, with 12,000 men, to support the emperor Anthemius. Mr. Owen, however, follows Geoffrey to the extent of asserting that Gwallog was a prince of the vale of Shrewsbury, which he certainly was not, though the same statement is repeated in the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*. Williams follows Owen, Owen follows Geoffrey, and Geoffrey probably mistook Caer Caradoc in the following poem to designate the residence of Gwallog; and the fact that Caer Caradoc is variously placed in Shropshire and at Salisbury, also accounts for the location of Gwallog at those two places.

Of the authentic history of Gwallog but little appears to be known. We first read of him in the poem of Llywarch Hen, who in the elegy on Urien Rheged represents him to have been the opponent of one of the sons of that chieftain :—

“Pwyllai Wallawg, marchawg trim,  
Er echwydd gwneuthur dyvin,  
Yn erbyn cyvrysedd Elphin.”

Gwallawg, the knight of tumult, would violently rave,  
With a mind determined to try the sharpest edge,  
Against the conflict of Elphin.—*Heroic Elegies*, p. 37.

From this fact we should infer Gwallog to have been located in the north of England. That view is corroborated by Nennius, who names Gwallog, with Urien, Rhydderch, and Morcant as the four kings who fought against the sons of Ida in Northumberland. This was about 580; Urien fell in 584; and as Gwallog opposed his son and successor Elphin, he must have remained in the north until the last quarter of the sixth century. He appears ultimately to have been deprived of his property; the services of others were offered for his reinstatement, but “he rejected the uniform ranks of the hosts of Rhun, Nudd, and Nwython,” and preferred settling down in Wales. His martial spirit still displayed itself, and he was continually at war with his neighbours. The battles he fought in Wales and in North Britain were enumerated in the poem last treated of, and obtained for him the designation of one of the three pillars of battle :—

“Tri phost Cad ynys Prydain: Dunawd Ffur fab Pabo Post Prydain; Gwallawc fab Lleenawg; a Chynfelyn Drwsgl, sef y medrynt Dosparth ar Gad a Chatteyrnedd yn oreuon o bawb oll ar a fuant erioed.”—*Triad i.; Myv. Arch. ii.* p. 69.

The three Pillars of Battle of the Isle of Britain; Dunawd Fur the son of Pabo Post Prydain, Gwallog the son of Lleenog, and Cynfelyn Drwsgl, who were so called because their skill in the art and conduct of war was superior to that of all others that ever existed.

The personal prowess of our hero is also specially mentioned; Taliesin imputes to him an insatiable love of

war; and Avan Verddig (?) in an elegy on Cadwallon applies to him the epithet of "the valour of Gwallog." He fell in defending Llan Lleenog, and according to the following Triad his wrongs were avenged from his grave:—

"Tri aerfeddawg Ynys Prydain: Selyv ab Cynan Garwyn; ac Afaon mab Taliesin; a Gwallawg mab Lleenawg: sef achaws y gelwyd hwynt yn Aerfeddogion am ddial eu cam oc eu beddau."

—*Triad 76; Myv. Arch. ii. p. 69.*

The three Grave slaughterers of the isle of Britain: Selyv the son of Cynan Garwyn, Avaon the son of Taliesin, and Gwallog the son of Lleenog; and the cause of their being termed grave slaughterers was the avenging of their wrongs from their graves.

Selyv the son of Cynan fell in the battle of Chester in 613;<sup>1</sup> and Avaon fell in the wars of Cadwallon ab Cadvan, *circa* 630; but it is not known that Gwallog fell in either of those conflicts; their "wrongs" were avenged by Cadwallon, who slew Edwin at the battle of Meigen, A.D. 633, ravaged Northumbria, and thus wiped off the disgrace of Cattraeth in 603.<sup>2</sup>

It is just possible that Gwallog fell in 613. He was buried at a place named Carrog, as we learn from *Englynion y Beddau*:—

"Yn Abergenoli y mac Bet Pryderi  
Yn y tered tonneu tir  
Yg Carrawc bet Gwallawc hir."

*Myv. Arch. i. p. 79.*

The grave of Pryderi is in Abergenoli:  
Where the waves broke over the land,  
In Carrog is the grave of Gwallog the Tall.

Mr. Williams (*Biographical Dictionary*) asserts this to be "the banks of the river Carrog in Caernarvonshire;" but I much doubt the correctness of that statement.

<sup>1</sup> "Annus 613. Gweith Cair Legion: et ibi cecidit Selim filii Cinan. Et Jacob filii Beli dormitatio."—*Annales Cambriae*.

<sup>2</sup> I have read Williams' *Gododin* with much pleasure; but he has certainly antedated this event. Several persons are said to have been at Cattraeth who had *previously* been in the battle of Mannan in 582 or 584: I retain my first opinion.

Taliesin locates Gwallog at Abermaw (Barmouth); and in that district, in the parish of Llanvihangel y Pennant, we find a farm of the annual value of £40 in 1795, and designated Hendrev Wallog, or the old residence of Gwallog.—(*Cambrian Register*, i. p. 300.) Further south, on the coast of Cardigan, a little north of Aberswyth, we find another place named Gwallog; and further south, on the sea-shore, we come to Llanddeiniol Church, which is commonly called Carog.—(*Meyrick's Cardiganshire*, p. 333.) I incline to the belief that this is the place of burial.

Gwallog had a daughter named Dwywe, who is numbered among the British Saints. She married Dunawd the son of Pabo, and by him had two sons, Deiniol Wyn, first Bishop of Bangor, who died in 584,<sup>3</sup> and not in 544 or 554, as is asserted by Owen, Williams, and Rees; and Gwarthan, the patron of Aneurin, who fell at Cattaraeth. Dunawd the father died in 595; and we cannot assume Gwallog to have outlived his aged son-in-law by many years.

Reference is made to Gwallog in the poetical dialogue between Gwyddno Garanhir and Gwyn ab Nudd; and the verses will probably be interesting.

## I.

Kanis Koegawc sy mor eurawc  
A hin yn ymyl llys Gwallawc  
Minneu byddaf Goludawg

## II.

Boed emendigeit ir gwydd  
A dynnwys y lygad yn y wydd  
Gwallawc ap Lleinawc Arg-  
lwydd

## III.

Boed emendigeit ir gwydd du  
A dynnwys i lygad oedd ddu  
Gwallawc ap Lleinawc pen llu

## IV.

Boed emendigeit ir gwydd  
gwenn  
A dynnwys i lygad oi ben  
Gwallawc ab Lleinawc unben.

## V.

Boed emendigeit ir gwydd glas  
A dynnwys y lygad yngwas  
Gwallawc ap Lleinawc urddas.

## VI.

Tarw trin an vyddin blawdd  
Arbennic llu llid anhawdd  
Dinam eirioes am oes nawdd.

<sup>3</sup> "Annus (584) Dispositio Danielis Banchorum."—*Annales Cambriæ*.

## VII.

Ygan gwr gwrdd i Kynnyad  
 Arbennic llu llid Owydd  
 Ath wrdd nawdd kanys erch-  
 ydd.

## VIII.

Kanys nawdd ym a roddyd  
 Mor verth yth ogyvethyd  
 Gwawr lu py du pan ddoyd.

Gwyddno seeing a gay young man coming towards him, when he was near the court of Gwallog, composes these verses, and naturally enough laments the death of that warlike chief. He then asks the stranger his name. The stranger replies that he was Gwyn ab Nudd, king of Faery, and the lover of Cordelia, the daughter of King Lear or Llyr Llediaith ab Brychwel Powys (*circa* 650 A.D.), whose daughter Branwen is the Lady Bradwen of Aneurin; and Gwyddno then enumerates his own feats, and various knowledge. Among these verses is the following:—

## XXIV.

“ Mi a wn lle i llas Gwallawc  
 Mab Goholeth teithiawc  
 Addwod Lloegyr mab Lleynawc.”

*Myv. Arch. i. 165, 6.*

This collection of twenty-six verses, bearing the orthographical marks of the thirteenth century, (*Lhuyd on Letter K.*, *Arch. Brit.* p. 228, col. 1,) has been already translated in *Meyrick's Cardiganshire*; but as the version there given is not strictly literal, I subjoin my own:—

## I.

Since a vain person is thus gold adorned,  
 Near the court of Gwallog,  
 I too will appear possessed of riches.

## II.

Accursed be the tree  
 That drew out his eye in the wood :  
 Gwallog the son of Lleenog, the Lord.

## III.

Accursed be the black wood  
 That drew out his eye, that was black :  
 Gwallog the son of Lleenog, the chief of a host.

## IV.

Accursed be the white wood  
 That drew out his eye from his head :  
 Gwallog the son of Lleenog, the Sovereign.

## V.

Accursed be the green wood  
 That drew out his eye in his youth :  
 Gwallog the son of Lleenog, the dignified.

## VI. AND VII.

Bull of battle ! active in the army ;  
 Leader of a host, his anger caused disquietude.  
 To pure and blameless life he was a protector.  
 And with the valiant hero,  
 Chief of the host of furious spears,  
 There was stout protection for singers, whoever asked.

## VIII.

For protection was given to me.  
 How familiarly art thou greeted ?  
 Dawn of the host ! who would stay, (at home) when  
 thou camest forth ?

## XXIV.

I know the place where Gwallog was slain,  
 Son of the chief of a rightful family,  
 Lloegria's ruin, Lleenog's son.

This imputed intimacy between Gwallog and Gwyddno is also in favour of the location here assigned to the former.

The original of the following poem is printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, i. p. 58; but it is not there stated whence it was obtained, and I have been unable to trace it. However it is certainly old, and probably by the same author as the other, whom I have supposed to be Taliesin; but it is very much inferior to its companion, and very much inferior to the other poems of that bard; and we must either assume that he was really very much affected with grief, or that he had exhausted himself in the other poem. I am not without a doubt, however, that the critical judgment of the sixth century would have been less severe; for it contains several illustrations

of the peculiar rhythmical versification which was much admired at that time, and for many subsequent centuries. This was the practice of repeating the initial syllables of words, of which one instance is found in Merddin, one in Llywarch, several in the poems of Taliesin, and a very large number in the Gododin ; but of the poems of Taliesin, this contains the largest proportion of such miscalled beauties ; and as I have denoted them by italics, they will be easily discernible. This practise continued until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, (*Literature of the Kymry*, pp. 236, 504,) and was specially noted by Giraldus, who informs us that no composition was considered to be elegantly constructed which had not this ornament. This peculiarity could not well be embodied in the translation ; I have, in a few instances, represented the form of the original by words of analogous structure ; but in the majority of instances this was impracticable, as the flexibility of the Welsh is very much greater than that of the English language.

### I. WALLAWG.

Yn enw Gweledig Nef Gorchoddion  
*Ryganant ryghwynant y Dragon*  
*Gurthodes gogyfres gwelyddon*  
 Lliaws Rhun, a nudd, a nwython.  
 Ni golychaf an gnawt Beirdd o Vrython  
 Ryfedd hael a *synyd Sywedydd*  
 Un lle *rhygethlydd rygethlig*  
*Ryddysyfaf rychanaf i wledig*  
 Yn y wlad ydd oedd ergrynnig  
 Nim gwnel nis gwnaf ei newig  
 Anawdd diollwng adwloedd ni diffyg  
 I wledig ni omedd  
 O edrych awdl trwm teyrnedd  
 Yn ei fyw nis deubydd budd bedd  
 Ni ddigonont hoffedd o'i buchynt  
 Caletach yr artaith hael hynt  
 Torf pressenawl tra Phrydain  
*Tra phryder ry gohoyw rylycirawr*  
*Ryllyccrer rytharnawr rybarnawr*  
 Rybarn pawb y gwr banher  
 Ac uinat yn ygnad ac elwet

Nid y gwr dilaw ei ddaered  
 Gwas greid a gwryhd gotraed  
 Eil eichawg Gwallawg yn llywet  
 Hwyrweddawg gwallawg artebed  
 Ni ofyn i neb a wnaeth udd  
 Neud ym udd nac neud ych Darwerther  
 Tewvedd yn niwedd Haf  
 Nis cynydd namyn *chwech* (*chweg?*)  
*Chweecach* it gynan o hymnydd  
 Chwedlawaq trwyddedawg traeth dydd  
 Teyrnedd yngweddi nwys medd mad  
 Telyg heul haf huenydd soned gan mwyaf  
 Cenhad gan ddoeth y gan llu eliassaf  
 Bint *bydi* derwy y bryt haf pryt mab  
 Lleenawg lliawg hamgwrwl gwmn  
 Gwawl gwnn gwres tarth gwres tarth  
 Trangyunis yd engis heb warth  
*Cledfa cledifa cledifarch* nidd am tyrr  
 Y lu y ledrad nid amescud i gaw ei gywlad  
 Tyllant tal ysgwydawr rhac taleu ei feirch  
 O march trwst Morial rith gar riallu  
*Gwynawg ry gwystlant gweiryd goludawg*  
*O Gaer Glut hyd gaer Garadawg*  
 Ystadl tir penprys a Gwallawg  
*Teyrnedd tewrn tangweddawg.*

The translation :—

#### TO GWALLAWG.

In the name of the Ruler of the exalted retinues of Heaven,  
 They excessively sing, they excessively bewail the Dragon (*i. e.*  
 leader);  
 He rejected (the aid of) uniform-ranked tribes,  
 The hosts of Rhun, Nudd, and Nwython.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The reader will find a translation of the first four lines in Pughe's *Dictionary, sub voce Gogofres*; but if he refers to the individual words, he will find, what is commonly the case, that the lexicographer's translations are utterly inconsistent with each other. In these lines he substitutes *Gnledig* for *Gveledig*, as I have done; but he also translates *gorchorddion* as if it were *gorchoddion*, misprints *i ddragon* for *y Dragon*, and translates it so; and he renders *gwrvthodes*, a verb, having the form of the past tense, and referring to the act of the *dead* Gwallawg, as if it were in the present tense. I mention these things once for all, in order to account for the discrepancies which may be found between my versions and his *Dictionary*;

I will not adore, as the Bards of Britain do,  
 Wonderful generosity, and the knowledge of the diviner ;  
 In place of a master-minstrel of excelling minstrelsy,  
 I will earnestly desire, I will greatly sing to a Ruler.<sup>5</sup>  
 In his land (where) there was trembling  
 I did not make, I will not make his lay :  
 Reluctantly I was released, of feasts there was no scarcity ;  
 To the Ruler there was no denying  
 The expected ode to the weighty sovereign :  
 In life, until he became the property of the grave,  
 There was not enough of fondness for his conduct.  
 Harder is the fortune of the generous one.  
 He was a host present before Britain ;  
 While there was anxiety the nimble one destroyed excessively,  
 And there was great damaging, wiping of tears, and much  
 judging.

And all men adjudged the hero, tall, bold,  
 And furious to be a judge,<sup>6</sup> and to be serviceable.  
 He was not a hero whose revenue was owing ;  
 An ardent youth, the valour of the skirting country,  
 Gwallawg was like Eichiawg in government,  
 And of a forbearing aspect was the countenance of Gwallawg.  
 He does not ask any one what he shall do.  
 Neither to me nor to you would the Lord sell  
 Thick mead at the close of summer.  
 There will be no increase except of sweet mead,  
 And sweeter will be its utterance on account of the sleeper.  
 Talkative was the privileged (*i. e.* the Bard) of the strand, in the  
 day  
 Of the sovereign, under the vivacious influence of delicious mead.  
 Like the sun the animator of summer<sup>7</sup> he was most frequently  
 described.

his work is indispensable to the student of bardic poetry, but he is to be used with caution ; and when my own judgment is unsatisfied, I place more implicit confidence on a less pretentious guide.

<sup>5</sup> See also Pughe *sub voce* Ergryning and Rhygethlydd.

<sup>6</sup> The old bards attribute a very peculiar and warlike character to the judge or ygnad.—See *Llynwarch Hen*, in reference to Caranmael ab Cynddylan ; and *Aneurin*, verse 9.

<sup>7</sup> This, and the two preceding lines are thus translated by Pughe, *sub voce* Chwedlawg :—

“Talkative is the privileged orator  
 Of kings, in the luxuriant circle of the good mead,  
 Like the sun the warm animator of summer.”

He here interposes an *o* between *traeth* and *dydd* in the first line,

I will sing a wise song, of those who were an harmonious host.  
 Sullen in the summer time was the countenance of the son  
 Of Lleenawg, he was floodlike in the border glen.  
 Vapour arose, effluvia from heat—heated effluvia  
 From the corpses of men who died without disgrace.  
 At the sword-place, in the swording, the sword of the hero was  
     not broken ;  
 His army did not spread about to plunder in the country of the  
     Caw (the Bard).  
 They pierced the front of the shield, in front of his steeds ;  
 On horseback like the din of Morial was that of the foray-loving  
     leader.  
 Fiercely they took hostages of rich hays,  
 From Caer Clud<sup>8</sup> to Caer Caradoc,<sup>9</sup>  
 Continuous and high-priced land.  
 And Gwallog is in the realm of the Sovereign of tranquillity (*i. e.*  
     Christ, the Prince of Peace).

The persons named in this poem are all known to

and thus puts into the mbuth of Taliesin a word which did not exist for many centuries after, and of which he could not find an example to illustrate his *Dictionary*; this unauthorized word changes the whole meaning of the passage. He also has *mnyys* in his extract, instead of *nvys*; and Pughe's extracts from the bardic poems are frequently most unfaithful.

<sup>8</sup> Caer Clud, or Caer Aclud, Alcluyd, Arclywd, or Alltelwyd, was the old name of Dunbarton, in Scotland, when that country was in the possession of the Britons of Strathclyde. The town was first built by Theodosius, and was thence called Theodosia; but it afterwards assumed, or resumed, the British name, and was the royal seat of Rhydderch Hael, king of Alclwyd at this time.

<sup>9</sup> This is said to have been Salisbury (Richard's *Dictionary, sub voce Caer*); but that is improbable. A better authority places it "In finibus Salopie inter fluvios Themidem et Colanum,"—(*Monumenta Historica*,) *i. e.* on the borders of Shropshire and Radnor; and those who wish to ascertain the exact position will find it in the preceding numbers of this Journal, in the various articles "On the Site of the Last Battle of Caractacus." It is also named in the Elegy on Cadwallon :—

" Yspyddawd Catwallaun Caer Caradoc vre  
 Wrth y gyfwyre gynne Efrawc."

*Myv. Arch.* i. p. 180.

and Cadwallon is said to have protected "Caer Caradoc Hill" by the joint rising which fired York. This description leaves no doubt as to the proper site; and it thus appears that the name by which that hill is known is as old as the sixth century.

British story; they were the contemporaries of Gwallog; and they appear to have offered their arms to defend his right.

RHUN was the son of Maelgwn Gwynedd. He is reputed to have been illegitimate; but whether that be so or not, he succeeded his father on the throne of Gwynedd. Maelgwn's daughter Eurgain is said to have married Elidyr the Courteous, the son of Gwrwst Briodor ab Dvyvynwal Hen, a chieftain, as Mr. Owen supposes, of some part of Lancashire. On the death of Maelgwn, whether that occurred in 547, or 566, or some date still later, Elidyr came to North Wales to claim Gwynedd as the inheritance of his wife; a battle appears to have taken place at the efflux of the Mewydus rivulet, which flows past the town of Caernarvon into the Menai; the brook was thence named Cadnant; and Elidyr, falling in the conflict, gave his name to "Elidyr Bank," the place of his death. The chieftains of the north, hearing of this misadventure, collected their forces together, and came to North Wales to avenge their brother sovereign; but this had better be related in the words of the Welsh Laws:—

#### THE PRIVILEGES OF THE MEN OF ARVON.

Here (*i. e.* in Arvon) Elidyr the Courteous, a man from the north, was slain, and after his death the men of the north came here to avenge him. The chiefs, their leaders, were Clydno Eiddin, Nudd the Generous, son of Senyllt; Mordav the Generous, son of Servari, and Rhydderch the Generous, son of Tudwal Tudglyd; and they came to Arvon; and because Elidyr was slain at Aber Mewydus in Arvon, they burned Arvon as a further revenge. And then Run (pronounced Reen) son of Maelgwn, and the men of Gwynedd, assembled in arms, and proceeded to the banks of the Gweryd in the north (the river Wear, it is supposed); and there they were long disputing who should take the lead through the river Gweryd. Then Run despatched a messenger to Gwynedd, to ascertain who were entitled to the lead. Some say that Maeldav the Elder, the lord of Pennard,<sup>1</sup> adjudged it to the men of Arvon; Iorwerth, the son of Madog, on the

<sup>1</sup> The ground on the west side of the river Seiont, opposite the town of Caernarvon.

authority of his own information, affirms that Idno the Aged assigned it the men of the black-headed shafts. And thereupon the men of Arvon advanced in the van, and were valorous there; and Taliesin sang,—

Behold! from the ardency of their blades,  
With Run the reddener of armies,  
The men of Arvon with their ruddy lances.

And then on account of the length of time they remained in arms, their wives slept with their bond-servants; and on that account Run granted them fourteen privileges.—*Owen's Welsh Laws*, 8vo. ed. vol. i. p. 105.

Rhun is also named in the poems of Llywarch Hen, who appears to have received several favours from him:—

“ Were there not given to me, by Rhun the Warlike,  
A hundred swarms, and a hundred shields?  
But one swarm was better far than all.

“ Were there not given to me by Rhun the celebrated chief,  
A cantrev and a hundred lowing kine?  
But one gift was better far than all.

“ In the lifetime of Rhun the peaceful wanderer,  
The truly brave will encounter dangers;  
And there will be fetters of iron on the steeds of the faithful.”<sup>2</sup>  
*Heroic Elegies*, p. 35.

These verses occur in the elegy on Urien Rheged, and Mr. Owen supposes this Rhun to be some other person than the son of Maelgwn, because the latter only died in 568, and Urien is thought to have died in 560. This argument, however, has no great force; the date of Maelgwn's death is uncertain, and is variously placed in A.D. 547, 566, 568 and 590; and the death of Urien will, at the proper time and place, be shown to have occurred in 584. E. Lhuyd states this person to have been the son of Maelgwn—(*Arch. Britt.* vol. i. p. 258); and I think that he is right. Some further particulars

<sup>2</sup> The translation of this verse differs essentially from that of Mr. Owen; and if reference be made to the Triads of the Tri Hualogion Deulu, and the usage of the word *Envir* in Aneurin, it will be seen that my version is the best.

are found in the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen* :—

“There are some notices of Rhun ab Maelgwn preserved in the Triads, in one of which he is called one of the three ‘Gwyn-deyrn’ or blessed princes of the isle of Britain—the other two being Rhuawn Bevr, and Owain ab Urien. In another Triad he is joined to Rhiwallon Wallt Banhadlen, and Cadwaladr Vendigaid, to form the three ‘Aurhualogion,’ or golden-banded ones, who were so called from wearing bands of gold round their arms, knees, and necks, as insignia of supreme power in every province of Britain. Rhun’s chief residence was the Roman Conovium, on the western bank of the river Conway, which from him obtained its subsequent name of Caer Rhun. He died in 586, and was succeeded by his son Beli.”

In the dialogue between Gwenddydd and Merddin, the following character is assigned to Rhun:—

*Gwenddydd.*—Who will reign after Maelgwn ?

*Merddin.*—Rhun is his name, dext’rous his sword-stroke,

Foremost of the army in battle;

Woe is Britain of the day.—*Myv.* i. p. 139.

NUDD was the person named as Nudd the Generous in the last paragraph; and all that is known of him is embodied in the following notice:—

“Nudd (Hael) a nobleman who lived in the sixth century. He was the son of Senyllt ab Cedig ab Dyvynwal Hen ab Ednyved ab Maxen Wledig. He is recorded in the Triads as one of the three generous ones of the isle of Britain, the other two being Morder Hael and Rhydderch Hael. We are informed in another Triad that he was proprietor of a herd of cattle, which contained twenty-one thousand milch cows, and was kept by Llawvrodedd Varvog. Nudd Hael is also reckoned among the Welsh Saints, and is said to have been a member of the college of Illtyd, and to have founded the church of Llysvronnudd.”—*Williams’ Biographical Dictionary.*

His dominions appear to have been in some part of the Scottish Lowlands; his son Drywon took a conspicuous part in support of Rhydderch at the battle of Arderydd, (Airdrie, near Glasgow, most probably,) in 577; and another of his sons will be named in the next notice. The liberality of Nudd is the subject of frequent eulogy;

and, in this respect, to compare a British lord to Nudd, Mordav, or Rhydderch, was the highest reach of bardic eulogy.

NwyTHON was the son Gildas or Euryn y Coed Aur, and brother of An-Euryn (*i. e.* the son of Euryn) the bard. He and his brothers, Dolgan, Cennydd, and Gwynnog were members of the colleges of Illtyd and Cattwg; but whether this connexion existed in youth or old age is not clear. Two chapels, founded by Gwynnog and Nwython, formerly existed near the church of Llangwm Dinmael in Denbighshire, which are now converted into a mill and a kiln. The festival of Gwynnog and Nwython was kept Oct. 23rd.—(*Williams' Biographical Dictionary.*) At one period of his life he was a distinguished warrior; his dominions appear to have lain about Strathclyde, in Scotland; and he probably inherited the lands of his grandfather Caw, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd, after the death of his uncle Huail. These conjectures are based upon certain passages in the Gododin:—

## LXXX.

Gweleis y dull o benn tir adoun  
 Aberth am goelkerth a disgynnyn  
 Gweleis oed kenevin ar dref redegein  
 A gwyr nwython ry gollesyn  
 Gweleis gwyr dullyawr gan awr adevyn  
 A phen dyvynwal a breych brein ae enoyn.

*Williams' Gododin*, p. 63.

Much credit is due to the author for his zeal and industry in furnishing us with a careful text of this poem, and his translations are generally very accurate; but the translator of so long, obscure, and corrupted a composition must needs make many slips; and there are many cases where a variety of interpretation must arise from a difference of taste in the translators, without there being any demerit attached to either. In the case under consideration, Mr. Williams does not appear to me to have seized the real significance of the lines of Aneurin; and I should translate the verse thus:—

I saw the array from the upland of Doon,  
 While they were placing sacrifice on the sacred fire:  
 I saw what was customary (*i. e.* a fight) above the town of  
 Redegein,  
 And the men of Nwython lost the day.  
 I saw marshalled men by the dawn of Doon,  
 And the head of Dvyvynwal the speckled—gnawed by ravens.

The *pentir adoun* of this verse appears to be “the banks and braes of bonny Doon” in Ayrshire. Rhedegein is the British form of *Retigonium*, now Stranraer, Wigtonshire, one of the towns of the Novantæ; and Rerygwyddyn, which takes its place in verse xcii., corresponds with equal exactness to Rerigonius Sinus, the Roman name for Loch Ryan, on the banks of which Stranraer now stands. And the events here recorded were probably the subjects of the following notices:—

A.D. 642.—The battle of Offa among the Britons.

A.D. 642.—The death of Donald Mac Hugh, in the end of January. Afterward Donald Breck, in the battle of Strath-carmaic or Cairvin, in the month of December, was killed by Owen king of the Britons; and he reigned fifteen years.<sup>3</sup>

Donald Breck, or the speckled, was king of the Scots of Argyle, and was killed by Owen, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, in the vale of Girvan; and a glance at a map will show that Aneurin, from the hills of Doon, might very well have commanded a view of both Rhedegein and of the vale of Girvan. Donald began to reign in 628 or 629; he reigned fourteen or fifteen years; and he fell in 642. Another king of the Scots of the same name appears to have reigned in 678, and to have died in 686.

But to return to Nwython. The conflict alluded to by Aneurin appears to be the event commemorated in the Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen, p. 305:—

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 642.—Bellum Offa apud Britones.—*Ritson's Annals, &c.* p. 174.

A.D. 642.—Mors Domnail Mac Aodha regis Hiberniæ, in fine Januarii. Postea Domnail Brec in bello Fraithe Cairvin (l. Straith-Cairmaic) in fine anni, m. Decembri, interfectus est (ab Hoan rege Britonum) et annis quindecim regnavit.—*Annals of Ulster and Tighernach, in Ritson*, ii. p. 45.

"A little while before this, Creirddyllad, (Cordelia,) the daughter of Lludd Llaw Ereint, and Gwythyr the son of Greidiawl were betrothed. And before she had become his bride, Gwyn ab Nudd came and carried her away by force; and Gwythyr the son of Greidiawl gathered his host together and went to fight with with Gwyn ab Nudd. But Gwyn overcame him, and captured Greid the son of Eri, and Glinneu the son of Taran, and Gwrgwst Ledlwm and Dyvynvarth his son. And he captured Penn the son of Nethawg, and Nwython, and Kyledyr Wyllt his son. And they slew Nwython, and took out his heart, and constrained Kyledyr to eat the heart of his father. And thereupon Kyledyr became mad. When Arthur heard of this he went to the north, and summoned Gwyn ab Nudd before him, and set free the nobles whom he had set in prison, and made peace between Gwyn ap Nudd and Gwythyr ab Greidiol. And this was the peace that was made, that the maiden should remain in her father's house, without advantage to either of them, and that Gwyn ab Nudd and Gwythyr the son of Greidiol should fight for her every first of May, from thenceforth until the day of doom, and that whichever of them should then be conqueror should have the maiden."

This appointment of the first of May for the annual combats is a fair presumption that the first battle took place on that day. The battle seen by Aneurin certainly did so; for the sacrifice at the sacred fire bespeaks the occasion to have been Bel-tan-day;\* and Aneurin, who elsewhere avows his druidism or paganism, and calls himself "Mab Coelcerth," or son of the sacred fire, was engaged in an act of Baal or fire worship. Here then are several coincidences; both battles were fought on the first of May; both battles were "inter Brittones;" and in both battles "the men of Nwython lost the day."

This verse has nothing to do with the battle of Cattaraeth, and like many others of the verses of Aneurin, forms no part of the proper Gododin.

Morial, to whom Gwallog is compared, is said to have been the son of Cyndrwn and the brother of Cyn-dylan:—"Moryal *Condolani frater.*"—(E. *Lhuyd*,

\* The month of May is still held sacred in Scotland; in that month there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage; though but few appear to know the reason.

*Arch. Britt.* col. i. p. 261.) He is identified with that family by Llywarch Hen:—

The sod of Ercal is on the ashes of fierce  
Men, of the progeny of Morial;  
And after Rhys there is great murmuring of woe.

*Heroic Elegies*, p. 93.

Rhys, the son of Morial, with his brothers Brych and others, are named in the Gododin, verse 49. Morial is honourably named by Meugant in the elegy on Cynnyddylan:—

### VIII.

Manred gymmined mawr ysagfael  
Yrhag Caer Luyd coed neus dug moriael  
Pymtheccant muhin a phen gwriael  
Pedwar uegin meirch a seirch cyhawael  
Pob esgob hunop ym mhedeirael  
Nis noddes myneich llyfr afael  
A gwyddws yn lu creulan o gynrhan claeir  
Ni ddeingis or ffosawd brawd ar y chwaer  
Diengynt ai herchyll trewyll yn taer  
Ef cynnif mi wyf in eru trafwael  
O leas Cynddylan clodrydd pob hael.

*Myv. Arch.* i. p. 160.

“Manred gymmined” is a catch phrase with which the first verse terminates and all the rest begin; and the expression appears to derive its significance from the fact that Cynddylan lost his life on the race-course of Tren.

Conflict of the race-course! a great booty,  
Did not Morial bring from Caer Lwyd Coed (Lincoln?)  
Fifteen hundred kine, and, chief heroism,  
Four score steeds, and appropriate trappings,  
With a sleepy bishop in each of the four corners,<sup>5</sup>  
It did not protect monks, to have hold of the (sacred) book.  
Of those who fell, a gory host, of the illustrious chieftains,  
There escaped not from the gashing a brother to the sister;

<sup>5</sup> The *Seirch* of the British bards is not war harness as is generally supposed, but silken trappings—*i. e.* *sericae*; and it was customary to ornament them at the corners with tassels and ornamental figures.—See the *Mabinogi of Kihvch*, or *Pughe's Dictionary*, *sub voce* Peidirael.

Those who escaped had eager and fearful pushing.  
 I am increasing in marvellous trouble,  
 Because Cynddylan's slain, praised by every generous (tongue).

The last five lines refer to the slaughter of the Cyndrwyn family, at Tren, in Shropshire. Morial is again referred to by Aneurin, who extols his bravery in pursuing the foe, (*Williams' Gododin*, v. 54); and allusion to his grave is made in the same work (*Note*, p. 133). He appears to have fallen at Cattrraeth, and his death was avenged by the successes of Cadwallon.

The land of the Caw is the principality. The Caw was the insignia of a bard.—(See *Iolo MSS.* p. 632; *Armlets of the Bards*.)

T. STEPHENS.

Merthyr Tydfil, Dec. 8, 1852.

P.S.—Will any archæologist skilled in the art of copying inscriptions favour me with a description of the best method of doing this? There are several inscriptions of interest in this locality.

[Mr. Westwood has given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1851, p. 148, a very easy and effective method of copying inscriptions.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.]

### ORIGINAL LETTERS,

REG. CAR. I.

THE three following letters are offered to the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association simply from their relating to events which took place within the Principality during one of the most momentous periods of our history.

The originals formed part of the collection long preserved in the family of the late Mr. Benett, of Pytt-House, Wilts, whose ancestor, Col. Thomas Benett, had been Secretary to Prince Rupert during the civil wars.

From Mr. Bennett they passed into the hands of Mr. Bentley, the publisher, and were finally dispersed by public auction in the summer of 1852.

J. P. O.

No. I.

12<sup>th</sup> March 1643.

82

The newes is very sad and of as much consequence to the Kings affaers as any accident that hath happened almost since these troubles began ; The Shipping vppō wensday in the evening appeared before Tenbigh and summoned them to yeld the towne ; whē they refusing, they continued before it vntill Thursday morning, and then began to storme it violently from sea with their ordinance. The same morning their land forces, likewise sate downe before the towne ; and plied it hotly with their canon continueing for y<sup>t</sup> most part day and night, vntill Saturday about 5 of the clock. at whē time their shott forced the very gate, and no where else as I learne, and gained the towne. plundering to y<sup>e</sup> utmost but gave quarter for life, there were taken prisoners of them that commanded Colonell David Gwyn. Commissary Gwyn Cap<sup>t</sup> George Lewis and Butler the now Sherif of Pembrokeshire. no releefe cam for want of horse. and the truth is that all the mischances hapend for want of a moveing reserve of strngh to releeve the garrisons that should happen to be distrest whereof there was nō ; the Ammunitiō as is reported was very scarce in towne ; it was absolutely the strongest hold in South wales, and of greatest consequvence to the King, had it been provided for with Knowing care it was scarsly forcable ; and to regayne it will require a mighty strngh and knowing soldiery whereof there was little afore in my poore judgement. it sweeps with it those contreyes . . . . . and powerful. all the armes of Carmarthenshire few excepted. and a few in the hand of the traynd men here besides those sent into the contry by M<sup>r</sup> Bushell<sup>w<sup>h</sup></sup> are all fixed now

1 "Thomas Bushell one of the wardens of his Majesty's Mint He was Governor of Lundy Island which by the Kings permission he surrendered on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 1647 to the Hon<sup>b</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Fiennes son of Will L<sup>d</sup> Say & Sele."—See *A Brief Declaration of the several Passages in the Treaty concerning the surrender of the Garrison of Lundy now under the Command of Thos Bushell Goverour thereof for his Majestie.* London Printed in the Year 1647 By order of Parliament.—Tracts presented to British Museum by King George III.

were lost. The people are disheartened by the greatness of the loss, that it will require no less a name then the Prince to new spiritt them, being yet for the most part (I am confident) loyall. but additionall succes which threatens the vulgar with present danger, for the most part governs the actions of the common sort. they would heare of no treaty. at all from the Earle. what farther resources they have I know not; but am certayne that the greatness of events rayses men into attempts they durst not have thought of before. we. are all ruined, by this mischance, without a timely reskue There is universall complaynt against the conduct of things, here & certainly not without cause. a Seasonable and Resolved crossing of their current, would bring them to other & more temperate considerations, w<sup>ch</sup> can not be don, by the souldiery of these parts only. Some Ammunitiō that cam frō Bristoll and ventured to releeve the towne, was chased by a friggat of Swanleys and hardly scapte putting into a Creeke at llanelly. and is safe: w<sup>ch</sup> is vpon the matter all w<sup>ch</sup> these countyes, have the armes & stores of both being used in these late vnfortunate actiōs. what is intended must be with greate secrecy and speede; and the actiō is of much more difficulty then it was before. had Tenbigh been saved, the country had been easily commanded with horse but now they have all the holds Pembrok Tenbigh & Haviford and by this time I beleeve Carew castle w<sup>ch</sup> was garrisond as I heare but with 50 men. They are numerous in ordinance of what nature they please by the shipping all their successes were p'formed. by Mariners. who being promisd the Plunder adventure boldly vppon attempts neare the water. that country is wholly theirs and the other 2 unfurnisht with armes or Ammunitiō nor have the people will because they wante hopes to doe any thing vnder that military conduct w<sup>ch</sup> brought them to these extremityes It were well if his Highness intends to redeeme this mischiefe, that hee had more particulars and sincere advertisement on every point.

Yo<sup>r</sup>s &c

Jo: VAUGHAN.

To my worthy ffriend  
Morgan Herbert<sup>2</sup> Esqr.

[“ John Vaughan one that will upon fitts talke loud for monarchy; but scrupulous to wet his finger to advance it. He served Burgess for Cardigan in the long Parliament; but quitted it upon Straffords tryal; named by his Majesty one of the Commissioners to attend the

<sup>2</sup> Morgan Herbert, probably son of William Herbert of Havod, county Cardigan.

treaty in the Isle of Wight but refused it; personally aduyed Cromwell to put the Crowne on his owne head, purchased Mevenith one of his late Majestys manors within the County of Cardigan personally assisted the taking of Aberystwith a Garrison then kept for his late Majesty. These services kept him from sequestration bore offices in the late several Governments.

"He is of good parts but putteth to high a value on them insolently proud and matchlessly pernicious: by lending 800 to Col. Philip Jones and other favorites of the late times procured the command of the County he liveth in to continue on his friends and dependents to this day."—*Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 166.]

## No. II.

S<sup>r</sup>

The newes I have since I sawe yo<sup>w</sup>, out of Pembrokeshire is that they intend w<sup>th</sup> some speed to advaunce into Carmarthen or Cardiganshire thereby to interest themselves as well as they maye in the Countrey before any of the Kings forces prevent them; nor is that consideracon w<sup>th</sup>out probabilitie of advauntadge to them, those Countreyes as nowe they stand being in the generall like to yeald themselves to the first danger or to fall in w<sup>th</sup> the first protection, being very impotent for resistaunce in themselves, If yo<sup>w</sup> shall thinke it fitt to advaunce as yo<sup>w</sup> intended either to Cardigan or Carmarthen, or into their Countrey acquaint me w<sup>th</sup> full directions as yo<sup>w</sup> will have me serve yo<sup>w</sup> in; Little wilbe effected in the generall heer vntill by some appearaunce of strength. men be more imbowldened to declare themselves, yo<sup>w</sup> may as I am informed if yo<sup>w</sup> decline Carmarthen, marche from Llanymدوvery a private waye to a place called Llanybyther, where partly in Cardiganshire, and partly in Carmarthenshire the river divideing, onely yo<sup>w</sup> maye have tollerable Quarter for a night at the houses of Jenkin Lloyd, the Widdowe Powell and others neare togeather besides the village and thence to Cardigan, I expect yo<sup>r</sup> resolucon and direction w<sup>th</sup> all speed by the bearer, being most intirely

Yor affectionate ffriend  
and Servant  
Jo VAUGHAN.

Trawscoed in Cardiganshire  
April 10<sup>th</sup> wednesday.

For my worthy and honoured ffriend  
Colonell Herbert Prise<sup>3</sup> at Brecon,  
and in his absence for Serieant  
Maior Morgan.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Herbert Price was the second son of Gregory, and grandson  
ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. IV. K

## No. III.

April 11<sup>th</sup>.

Deare Sr.

I received yo<sup>r</sup> tre this Thursday morninge by the breake of daye, but had yeasternight dispatcht one to yo<sup>w</sup> w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>w</sup> will timely receave this daye, I was doubtful of yo<sup>r</sup> being at home and therefore wrotte not soe fully. my Intelligence is heere that in Pembrookeshire they were much moved w<sup>th</sup> the answere returned them from this County to their letter, insuemuch that it being proposed amoneg them that they should somon vs once more it was answered by Laugharne hee would not but w<sup>th</sup> his sworde in his hande, This daye they have convend all the Countrey to a muster at Coleby Moore about 13 miles from Carmarthen whence it is imagined they will march for this or Carmarthen shire, that Countrey w<sup>th</sup> in it selfe appeares in good number as the maner is, but the bodie of the Countrey absolutely refuses any attempt abroade w<sup>th</sup> them, as I am informed, soe as their action must depend vpon their ould strength, not being as I heare but between three or foure hundred foote and about seaven score horse, heere will noe great good be done untill some force appears, I prepare what may be, having those some dayes fixd the trayned band of this quarter whoe were altogether undisciplined in the nature of a Garrison, where they are diligently exercised and will become of use signifeing nothing before, I collect what voluntiers I cann to arme w<sup>th</sup> the armes in my power as dragooneers and what horse can be prepared but those will come in presently vpon yo<sup>r</sup> appearaunce and somons, Direct yo<sup>r</sup> letter to the Shierieffe that yo<sup>w</sup> require by the direction of the Prince the appearaunce of all horse and other strength of this Countie at the place and time yo<sup>w</sup> shall thinke fitt, and I doubt not wee shalbe intire: I thinke it requisite yo<sup>w</sup> should hasten yo<sup>r</sup> Marche w<sup>th</sup> what speede yo<sup>w</sup> can, and send to Maior Botteler that his horse remove not but with yo<sup>s</sup> that yo<sup>r</sup> attempt may be the intirer, it will not be amiss that yo<sup>w</sup> send the letter I propose you should send to the Shierieffe to me with notice of the meetinge since yo<sup>w</sup> determine to have w<sup>th</sup> us that it may be certaine and prepard with some industerie, I am

of Sir John Price, of the Priory, Brecon, his mother was Mary, daughter of Humphrey Coningby, of Hampton Court, Hereford, in consequence of which connexion he settled in that county. He married Goditha, daughter of Sir Henry Arden, of Park Hall, county Warwick, and had issue Sir Thomas Arden, Sir Basil, and Herbert; the two former died without issue, and the latter left an only daughter.

glad Sir Hugh Owen is for conditions for he may prove of greate vse, but I am truly sorie that articles of such nature as yo<sup>r</sup> letter intimates are preferrd against the Earle of Car': for vpon my soule he was free from the least falsehood, what ever else was amissee: the Co<sup>m</sup>aunde is now I hope happily disposed of into highness Prince Rupert's hands.

J<sup>o</sup>. V.

For my much honoured ffrien  
Collonell Herbert Price  
These.

[SIR HUGH OWEN.—“As much as is understood of him a Royalist so habituated to reservedness that it is thought he cannot now extricate himself if he would from it, a lover of the Country and justice; but noted by some to be too sparing or too modest to bear the burthen of the affairs of his Country.”—*Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 165.]

[RICHARD VAUGHAN, EARL OF CARBERRY.—“A person of great parts and civilities, about the year 1643 and 1644, was General over the said Countyes by commission from his late Majesty of blessed memory Charles the First; and tho in number of souldiers far exceeding his adversarys, yet without any resistance made by him; some attributing it to a suspected naturall cowardize, others to a designe to be overcome; however shortly after ennobled with the Titles of Baron of Emlyn and Lord of Caermarthyne; the Kings party being mastered he alone of all the Kings party in that country escaped sequestration, freed from composition by order of both Houses of Parliament by reason of the correspondence he kept up with the then Earl of Essex and manie great services done by him to the Parliament during his Generallship, which was then evidenced to the Parliament by Sir John Muricke and by certificate from severall of the Parliaments then Generalls in his Lordships behalfe.

“When Oliver Cromwell snatched the Government of this Nation this active Lord gained his acquaintance and favour, insomuch that Cromwell sent from the Parkes he then possessed near London several Stagges unto him to furnish his Park at Golden Grove in Wales.

“In a word a fit person for the highest publique employment if integrity and courage were not suspected to be too often faylings in him.”—*Cambrian Register*.

The Earl of Carberrys pedigree with their titles and honourable Endowments. London: printed in the year 1646. 4to.—“The Pedigree of the Earl of Carberry.”—“The said Earl was created Baron of Emlin at Oxford, and sat there in the Junta (the better to distinguish him, because he hath been by many taken for the Earl of Cherbery) he is Nephew to the late Walter Vaughan (Plod-all) Brother to Sir Henry (Act-all) now Prisoner in the Tower for all; Brother to the late Sir John (Countenance-all) father to the said Carberry and Brother to the honest Richard (Tell-all) who hath been

grievously prosecuted imprisoned and plundered by them all for his affection to the Parliament . . . and yet for all *Alls* the said Earle is about London making all the friends he can to get him off these *Alls*: it seems they are so sharp and prick so sore that he cannot rest long in one place: yet he keeps his brazen face, and brags that he got a pardon for all, and like to be in as great command as ever he was: which if it should be done (which God forbid it should) then woe be to poore Carmarthenshire especially those who exhibit those Articles to the Committee there, for they are likely to pay for all: but I hope the Parliament will be better advised, and prevent that by disabling him and all his compliances for bearing any office or Authority in the Country: he may very well pay a large composition for he hath extorted large summes of money of the Countrey since these wars began, besides two or three thousand pounds of ship-money and other Monies which he had of the Countries on his hands before."

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The following Abstracts taken from other letters in the same collection show the fatal result to the Royal cause:—

*Hugh Boteler to Colonel Herbert Prise.*

Llanamdovery, April 11, 1644.

The Rebels intend speedily to be at Carmarthen if not prevented. Many of the Men pressed by the Parliament will go over to the King if opportunity offer. Lord Carbury ordered a rate of £4000 to be collected.

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*Colonel Herbert Prise to Prince Rupert.*

Brecon April 12<sup>th</sup> 1644.

Invited hither by the Gentry of Carmarthen and Cardigan. Considering the impossibility of their receiving help otherwise has marched that way.

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*Colonel Herbert Prise to Prince Rupert.*

Brecon April 13, 1644.

Withdraws to Herefordshire in obedience to the Prince's commands, but represents that this will alienate faithful subjects in these parts and leave them a prey to the rebels.

*Colonel Herbert Prise to Prince Rupert.*Brecon May 7<sup>th</sup> 1644.

Misfortune at Carmarthen through failure of promised relief. Begs for forces from Glamorganshire and order to seize arms in the hands of private persons.

*Colonel Herbert Prise to Prince Rupert.*

Calais April 1.

The Kings (Cha<sup>a</sup> II.) condition reported everywhere hopeful. The Rebels have nothing to support themselves but the authority of the army. Garrisons increased in every County in England. Cromwell reported dead or very sick; his Officers and Soldiers die daily of the flux. His Highness hath been informed against him. Doubts not of his justification.

[Col. Herbert Price survived to witness the Restoration. He was knighted by Charles II., and dying in 1673, was buried in Westminster Abbey.]

## THE DE LA ROCHE FAMILY.

THE following facts in reference to the valuable documents of the De la Roche family, published in the last Number of your Journal (vol. iii. New Series, pp. 258-271) may be interesting to some of your readers.

On the charter of Thomas Bishop of St. David's, marked No. I., it is observed :—

"It belongs to the reign of Henry the Third, or the early years of Edward the First. According to Godwin there were three Bishops of St. David's of the name of Thomas, successors to each other about that time. Thomas Carew seems to have the best claim to it; but if the early Fasti of the Church of St. David's are in a tolerable state, there could be no difficulty in referring it. In reference to the genealogy of the Roches the point is of importance."

"De Thoma Carren [sic] nihil omnino memoratur," are the words of Godwin,—"De Richardo tamen pauca dicamus" the note of his commentator Richardson. Richard (not Thomas) de Carew succeeded Thomas Wallensis in 1256, and was succeeded by Thomas Beck in 1280. This narrows the question considerably, and the names of two of the witnesses to the charter, Richard de Gough Archdeacon of St. David's, and T. Arch-

deacon of Caermarthen, bring it within a still smaller compass. A glance at the following table of successions will show that the charter may almost certainly be referred to Thomas Wallensis, while it is scarcely possible to assign it to Beck.<sup>1</sup>

Bishops of St. David's.	Archdeacons of St. David's.	Archdeacons of Caermarthen.	A.D.
Thomas Wallensis cons.	Richard, Archd. of St. David's, present at a Chapter -	Tankard, Archd. of Caermarthen, present at a Chapter -	1249.
Thomas Wallensis died -			1254.
Rich. de Carew cons.	Richard, Archd., at a Chapter, by proxy -	Tankard, Archd., present at a Chapter -	1255.
	Peter Quivil, Archd. of St. D. elected Bp. of Exeter <sup>2</sup> -		1256.
Richard de Carew died }	Robert de Haverford installed -		1259.
Thomas Beck cons. -			1280.
	Robert, Archd. of St. D., witness to a charter of Bp. Beck	Mareduc ap Gurward, Archd. of Caermarthen died -	1283.
		John de Alderby succeeded -	1287.
Thomas Beck died -		John de Alderby occurs Canon of St. D., probably still Arch.	1291.
			1292.

We may therefore without hesitation fix the date of No. I. between 1249 and 1255.

In No. IV. Adam Baret is contemporary if not identical with a person of the same name, who exchanged the office of Treasurer of St. David's for that of Archdeacon of Brecon in 1278, and held the latter dignity in 1302.

In No. IX. David Bishop of St. David's is obviously David Martyn; Gilbert de Musselwick, one of the executors of the testator John de la Roche, was Archdeacon of Caermarthen; and Lantesey, as your correspondents read it, is, as they conjecture, Lamphey, or as it is written in old documents, Lantefey.

<sup>1</sup> My authorities are principally the *Annales Menevenses (Anglia Sacra*, ii. pp. 650, 1), and the statute-book of St. David's Cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> Quivil was elected before the consecration of Beck; compare Richardson's note on Godwin's account of the former with the *Annales Menevenses*.

I have only to add that the St. David's Statutes contain a copy of the confirmation (without date) by David de Rupe, of a grant by his father Adam de Rupe of 2s. payable yearly on St. David's Day, to the Church of St. David's, out of the land held of him at Roche by Wobald son of Ernebald. The grant (also without date) is attested by P. Bishop of St. David's, and by Philip Osbert, Robert Meyler, and Martin Gerald, Canons,—the confirmation by W. Precentor, and Pentecostus and Henry Fitz—, Canons. The Adam de Rupe here mentioned is evidently the founder of Pill Priory, he being contemporary with Bishop Peter de Leiâ, who attested the deed, and to whose age the other witnesses are known to belong. Pentecostus, one of the Canons witnesses to the confirmation, occurs in 1218,—Henry Fitz-Robert, probably the other, in 1202 and 1222; W. Precentor of St. David's, whoever he be, occurs nowhere else, but his name serves to fix the date of the confirmation at some period subsequent to 1224, when the Precentorship was founded; and we may probably infer, from the attestation of Canons Henry and Pentecostus, that it could not be much later. It is clear then that David the son of Adam de Rupe is distinct from the David de Rupe mentioned in Nos. VI. VII. and VIII. The rent-charge of 2s. from Roche occurs in the cathedral accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it would seem to have been commuted for a quinquennial payment of 10s. I believe it is no longer received.

W. B. J.

University College,  
Oct. 29, 1852.

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#### ROMAN INSCRIBED STONE FOUND ON THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT SEGONTIUM.

THE sketch herewith given is of a fragment of a commemorative Roman inscription recently discovered in the vicarage garden in this town, the site of the ancient Segontium.

The slab was found within a foot of the surface of the ground, and had formed a part of the covering of an old flue or drain, most probably the former, for in referring to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1846, on the ground plan facing p. 177, I found that it was discovered as nearly as possible to that part of the plan marked A. In page 78 of the same volume, another frag-

ment of an inscription found near the same spot is described at length; it appears by comparing the two fragments, that they must originally have formed a part of the same inscription; both readings, when studied in connexion, may probably be the means of elucidating some historical fact concerning this interesting Roman station. I believe any existing evidence of the full operations and strength of the Roman occupation in this neighbourhood, is extremely vague and uncertain. Yet it may be safely affirmed that the Romans took considerable care to secure a footing in this part of North Wales, from the numerous remains of their roads, forts and camps; and that some of these stations must have been extensive, and capable of containing within their walls a numerous body of soldiers, may be gleaned from the lower line of this inscription, viz. COH. I.; but in reading the upper line, *Aquae ductum Vetus*, and comparing it with the site of Segontium, it is difficult to conjecture how it can apply to any military operations which have been erected on this spot, for nearly the whole of the rising ground on which Segontium stood is at this day literally springs of water.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Thomas Thomas, vicar, the slab will be deposited in our local Museum.

JAMES FOSTER.

Caernarvon, Dec. 4, 1852.

**SEAL OF HAWYS GADARN;** [See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. ix. New Series, p. 70.]—The following notice respecting this lady occurs in Powell's *History of Cambria*, p. 157:—"Owen ap Gruffyth had issue one onelic daughter his heire, named Hawys Gadarn, that is, Hawys the hardie, against whom her vncles, Lhewelyn, Iohn, Gruffyth Vachan, and Dauid arose, challenging the lands of their brother Owen, and affirming that a woman was not capable of lands in that countrie. Whereupon Hawys made such freends in England, that the matter being opened vnto King Edward the second, the said king bestowed hir in marriage vpon a seruant of his named Iohn Charleton, termed Valectus Domini Regis, borne in Appley, a little off from Wellington, 1268, in the countie of Salop, whom he made Lord Powys in hir right."



Fragment of a Roman Inscription discovered at Segontium.



Seal of Hawys Gadarn.



an oblong barrow, reputed as the grave of Gwenan, while within range of the same locality may lie hidden the resting-places of Panna the son of Udd, on the uplands of Arfon, and of Llofan with the destructive arm, on the strand of the Menai, "where the hoarse wave breaks on the rocky shore."

Another class of graves of a superior order, and distinguished by the *stele* or *maen hir*, may be traced on the Ordnance map of this district, and might be made to shed some light on the writings of the early bards, through the instrumentality of Mr. Stephens' researches. Among them is the sepulchral pillar of Gwaewyn Gungoffri, still standing near one of the western entrances into Glynllifon Park; and that of Dylan, on the sea-shore, near the mouth of the Llyfni, still maintaining its upright position, after the lapse of ages, notwithstanding the encroachment of the sea which washes its base on each successive tide; to which may be added a splendid specimen of their upright monumental pillars at Graianog, near the source of the Desoch, a stream running parallel with the Llyfni.

Arfon in fact appears to have been the arena of some important military movement among the Celtic tribes, in which may probably be recognised the united efforts of the descendants of Cunedda Wledig in maintaining their position among the Picts and Saxons, in the settlement of the discordant elements of society on the basis of the Christian faith.

CILMYN.

Craig y Ddinas, Dec. 6, 1852.

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The Editor of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* has submitted a proof of CILMYN's letter to my inspection, for which I am much obliged to both; and I shall esteem it a further favour if CILMYN will oblige me with his proper name, as I particularly wish to make some inquiries about a locality with which he appears to be well acquainted.

With respect to the burial-place of Gwallawg I am not thoroughly satisfied; he has shaken my faith in my own conjecture; but he has not cleared up the matter so thoroughly as could be desired. He says,—“In the poetical stanzas which record the graves of the warriors of the isle of Britain, it is expressly declared that the grave of Gwallawg the Tall is on the banks of the brook of Carrog.” Now the fact is that the *Englynion y Beddau* say no such thing. Here are the very words:—

“Yn Abergenoli y mae Bet Pryderi.  
Yn y tereu tonneu tir  
Yg Carrawc bet Gwallauc hir.”

*Myv. i. p. 79, No. 7.*

The original is not punctuated; but it is evident from the rhyme that the second line refers to Gwallawg, and not to Pryderi; and the difference between myself and CILMYN will turn upon the interpretation of that line. The source of dispute is limited to a single

word—*tereu*: *tir* is land, and *tonnew* are waves; and *tereu* is clearly a verb. The infinitive form is *teru*; and we have here the past tense of the indicative mood. The meaning of the word is found *sub voce* *tèr s. m.* from which is formed the verb *tèru*; but as there are two verbs, differing in form only by the accent upon the *e*, it may be well to examine them more minutely:—

*Ter, s. m.*—That is fine, clear, or transparent. *a.* Clear, fine, transparent, pure, clarified, purified.—(*Pughe's Dictionary.*) *Mél têr*—Clear purified honey.—(*Richards' Dictionary.*)

*Têru, v. a.*—To purify, to clear, to clarify; to render fine or smooth. *Teru mel.*—To clarify honey.—(*Pughe.*) To cleanse.—(*Richards.*)

*Têr, s. m.*—A state of ardency; aptness to pervade or to break out.—(*Pughe.*)

*Têru, v. a.*—To act sullenly; to grow sullen, to pout, to sulk. *Teru ar fwyd, sori ar fwyd,* to quarrel with the victuals.—(*Pughe.*)

Of these two verbs, the latter appears to be the one used; and the lines may be thus rendered in English:—

In Abergenoli is the grave of Pryderi:  
Where the waves broke over the land,  
In Carrog, is the grave of Gwallog the Tall.

Carrog literally means a brook; there is a Carrog brook in the place mentioned, in Cardiganshire; there is a Carrog brook near Caernarvon town; and there is another towards the southern extremity of that county. I do not therefore ground my opinion solely upon the name Carrog; there is an *M* in Macedon as well as in Monmouth; a Clwyd, Rhuddlan, Bangor, &c. in South as well as in North Wales; a Bryn Arien, Tryfan, and Nanllau in Caernarvon, and a Bryn Arien, Tryfan, and Nanllau in Glamorgan and Cardigan. A mere correspondence in name is not therefore conclusive in such cases as the present; and my preference for the Cardigan coast is founded on many other reasons, viz.:—

*First.*—The correspondence between Carrog and Carrawc, not only in name, but in significance also. The expressions of the verse are *Yg* or *Yng* Carrawc—they are emphatically “In Carrawg”—not on the banks of a brook so called, but *in* a district of that name.

*Second.*—The land broken over by the waves is unmistakeably that of Gwyddno—the coast of Cardigan. The overflowing of Cantrev y Gwaelod is certainly a very old tradition; it is referred to in some rude and ancient verses attributed to Gwyddno; and I believe that this verse refers to the same legend.

*Third.*—Gwalloc and Gwyddno were on intimate terms; and it is natural for us to seek the burial-place of the hero in the neighbourhood of his dwelling-place—**GWALLOG**.

*Fourth.*—There is an evident connexion of some kind between Gwallawg and Pryderi, who was prince of the seven cantreys of Dyved.

*Fifth.*—There is a substantial reason why Gwallog should be buried at Carrog. His daughter Dwywe was married to Dunawd the son of Pabo, and was the mother of Bishop Deiniol and Gwarthan. The church of Carrog is dedicated to Deiniol, and is now called Llanddeiniol; it was natural for the father of a saintess, and the grandfather of a bishop, to desire Christian burial; and it was natural enough for him to be buried in or near a church dedicated to his son-in-law.

For these reasons I still adhere to the opinion given at page 245, but am nevertheless much obliged to CILMYN for his criticism; and as my sole object is to arrive at the truth, I hope he will favour me with another criticism, should he be dissatisfied with this exposition. I trust however that he will not repeat the error of translating "Carrawg" twice; "he cannot have his cake and eat it too;" and Carrog is either a word signifying a brook, or the name of a place; it must be one or the other—it cannot be both; and if he retains Carrog as a proper name, he must discard the "brook;" or, if he retains the brook, the proper name must disappear.

CILMYN could write an interesting paper on the ancient tumuli of Arvon, and I trust he will enrich this Journal with such an article.

T. S.

Merthyr, December 13, 1852.

P.S.—Is there any legend connected with Craig y Dinas? There is a Craig y Dinas not far from here, beneath which King Arthur and his men are lying fast asleep, in the midst of a perfect California of gold and silver.

#### CERNUNNOS.

*To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.*

SIR,—In the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1850, p. 214, Mr. W. Wynne Ffoulkes expresses a desire to know by what authors the Gaulish deity, Cernunnos, is mentioned: I have the pleasure to invite his attention to Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome ii. pp. 425, 6, and hope the following remarks on symbolic theology, derived from D'Hanevrille, Recherches, and other authors too numerous to mention, will be acceptable to those who in these matters are

"At Dulcarnon, right at their wit's end."

Of the emblems of the deity, or of the luminary which, itself the symbol of the supreme, eternal, universal, intellectual first cause, sits enthroned on the riches of the universe, supplied by animals, that of the ox or bull appears to have been the most ancient and the most universal. The Egyptians consecrated heifers to the moon and to the earth, bulls to the sun, acknowledging by these symbols of fecundity the benefits both of the generative and of the productive powers of nature. To the ox they first gave a human head, afterwards a human

body, preserving the other parts of the symbolic animal, and at last reduced those figures to statues, in which, instead of the parts of the animal they only preserved its progressive character; whilst in Greece, whose artists were emancipated from uniformity by the subordination of theological ideas, the sun was personified by the human face divine of the Belvidere Apollo; the Greeks retained the primitive ideas and symbols of the Egyptians, and represented the radiate head of the god of light by their Bacchus bull with golden horns. On the confusion of the words *cornu* and *radius*, *cornuta* and *luminosa*, we need not in this place dwell. We find the same bovine symbol in the Arcadian Pan and in the Celtic Cernunnos. Probably from this figure were derived those of the other gods represented under the human form, and it ought to be looked upon as the germ or first step of sculpture. The same progression has taken place in every part of the world. In western Calais as well as in eastern Heliopolis we may go back from the statue to the emblem from which it originated—from thence to the stone by which were first represented the divine attributes, afterwards expressed by that emblem and that statue.

A ROSICRUCIAN.

December 14, 1852.

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### Miscellaneous Notices.

#### THE HISTORIC INSTITUTE OF WALES.

WE have to congratulate our countrymen on the official formation of this very desirable Association. Nothing now remains but that the list of subscribers be completed, when it will be immediately put into active operation. It is absolutely necessary, with the view of guaranteeing the publisher from pecuniary loss, that the number of subscribers amount to three hundred. We sincerely trust that there is that degree of patriotism enshrined in the hearts of Welshmen which will urge them, without delay, to come forward and aid this laudable undertaking. It is of national interest. Therefore let all who love Wales, its History, its Poetry, and its Literature in general, show their attachment, not only by sending in their own adherence, but also by canvassing their neighbours and friends. Were each of those persons, who have already become subscribers, to persuade two more to follow their example, the thing is done, and the first volume will be issued forthwith.

It will be observed, that in consideration of the "Cymro uniaith," it has been determined to publish additional and smaller works, written in the Welsh language, to a copy of each of which all subscribers of Five Shillings per annum will be entitled. Of this class

are most of our bards. Surely their "gwaldgarwch" will not suffer this list to remain long uncompleted. May we suggest that Brychan's *History of Wales*, now in possession of the Rhuddlan Committee, be applied for, and adopted as the first volume of the Welsh Series.

### COINS FOUND IN THE REMAINS OF A ROMAN VILLA AT ACTON SCOTT.

The following description was given by Mr. BIRCH of the British Museum :—

I.—NEAPOLIS.—*Obverse*—Head of Apollo, with a wreath. *Reverse*—Half a bull with a human head (emblem of a river). From 250 to 300 years before Christ.

II.—ATHENS.—*Obverse*—Head of the bearded Bacchus, with a wreath of ivy. *Reverse*—Head of Jupiter. A rare coin, probably struck from 200 to 250 years before Christ.

III.—SMYRNA.—*Obverse*—Head of Apollo, with laurel wreath, the hair arranged like that of a female. *Reverse*—[Σ]MPNA [ΙΩΝ]. Two armed hands of a gladiator or athlete, and a palm branch. There was the name of a magistrate, not legible. Struck about 100 or 150 years before Christ.

IV.—EGYPT.—Antiochus VIII. and his mother Cleopatra. *Obverse*—Portrait of Antiochus with a radiate crown. *Reverse*—An Egyptian symbol, known as the lotus ornament, placed on a crescent, and two ears of corn. *Inscription*—[Βα]σιλεσση[ς] [ΚΛ]εοπατρα[ς] [Θεας]. Και . [Βα]σιλεως [Αντιοχου]. About seventy years before Christ.

V.—SMYRNA.—*Obverse*—Bust of Britannicus when a boy, under the neck ΣΜΥΡΝ. now effaced. *Reverse*—A winged figure of Victory holding a palm branch across her shoulder. *Inscription*—ΕΙΓΙ ΦΙΑΙΣΤΟΥΕΙΚΑΔΙΟΣ. Struck during the reign of Claudius, about forty-five years after Christ.

VI.—PARIUM IN MYCIA.—*Obverse*—A.I.C.V.P. A lustral vase. *Reverse*—Q. PAQUI. RVF. LEG. C. D. Occupying all the field of the coin.

### STONE OF BODVOCUS.

"On the top of a hill called Mynydd Margam, is a pillar of exceeding hard stone, erected for a sepulchral monument, of about four feet in height and one in breadth, with an inscription."—See *Camden*, ii. p. 738.

This sepulchral relic, so often visited by antiquaries, has been wantonly and recklessly thrown down, and unless very soon *properly* replaced, the work of destruction will be completed, and another of our national relics will be lost. As it stood on that very desolate part of Margam Hill, it formed an interesting object to the beholder on the Twmpath Diwlith, the little mound where the Bards of Tir

Iarll were accustomed to meet on the morning of the 24th of June, and where it is said they found the author of the *Mabinogion*, Ieuau ap y Diwlith. It bore the following inscription:—"Bodvocus hic jacet filius Catotis Irni Pronepus Eternali vi domau," &c.

LINES ON SEEING THE DESTRUCTION OF THE LETTERED STONE OF  
TIR LARLL.

On Margam mountain's dreary height it stood,  
A classic monument, where pilgrims came  
Since Camden's page the wanderers' footsteps woo'd ;  
Ages swept o'er it—yet it stood the same ;  
The flashing lightning spared the record lone,  
And tempests scathless left the lettered stone.  
Wrenched by destructive hands, now low it lies,  
Riven from its rest by brutal force,—no more  
We see afar the antique pillar rise,  
As erst it met the longing gaze,—and vain  
It soon will be to seek and ponder o'er  
The old sepulchral relic as of yore.  
No trace of it, alas ! will soon remain,  
Thus left a ruined wreck upon the plain.

8th September, 1852.

**LACY ARMS.**—A correspondent wishes to know if he can, and how, procure a copy of the "Inq. post Mort. A.D. 1311," out of which extracts are given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. xi. New Series; also whether this document differs very materially in its contents from the "Extent, 1334." Will A. C. supply him with the required information?

**INSCRIBED STONES, ABERMO BAY.**—In Waring's *Life of Iolo Morganwg*, p. 202, it is stated—"There were lately to be seen in the sands of this bay, (Abermo, Merionethshire,) large stones with inscriptions on them, the characters Roman, but the language unknown." Can any of our readers furnish us with any further particulars, and, if possible, with rubbings of these inscriptions, should they still exist.

**PETRIFIED TORTOISE.**—A very perfect and remarkably well delineated tortoise, in a petrified state, may be seen at Cwmcynvelin, near Aberystwyth. It was found at no great distance from Llanidloes, but how it got so far inland, and in what age, are questions which we are not prepared to solve. Perhaps some of our geological readers may favour us with an explanation.

**ERRATA.**—Page 259, Charter I. line 8, *for teneri lege tenui*; line 17, *for testimonis lege testimonio*; page 261, Charter IV. line 10, *for anuaatim lege annuatim*; page 265; Charter VIII. line 11, *scūario contraction for sanctuario?* page 269, Charter XIII. line 17, *for latonicæ lege latomie.*

## Review.

**WELSH SKETCHES.** Second Series. By the Author of "Proposals for Christian Union." London: J. Darling. 1852.

The remarks which we made in reference to the first volume (see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1852, p. 78) will equally apply to this. It is written in a plain attractive style, which, in conjunction with the impartial feeling and the great research it evinces, is sure to make it a favourite not only with our own countrymen, but also, or we are greatly mistaken, with those of the amiable author himself. The present series embraces perhaps the most eventful period of Welsh history, beginning with the Lords Marchers in the reigns of the earlier Henrys, and ending with Edward of Caernarvon. The following extract will suffice as a specimen of the work; it is in reference to the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffyd:—

"In Mr. Jones' most interesting and ingenious attempt to harmonise the various accounts current on the subject, there is, it is plain, a great deal of guess-work. Tradition divides the burden of Llywelyn's death between Saxon treachery and native treason. . . . Our English annalist Stowe, clearly wrong in his main facts, may have been wrong also in his minor details. It is just as probable as not that Llywelyn used no reproachful words at all. Having examined the whole account, I hope fairly and impartially, I find the admitted facts quite consistent with those uncalculated upon unexpected contingencies, which constitute 'the fortunes of war,' but quite inconsistent with any concerted plan or treasonable conspiracy. That the English had intelligence that Llywelyn was in South Wales, I grant; but there is nothing for, much against, the supposition that they knew that the Prince of Wales was with the detachment of Welsh troops whose steps they were tracking. Will any one make me believe, that, had Llywelyn been driven from the strongholds of Snowdon by false assurances of support, in order that he might fall a prey into the hands of his enemies, that there would not have been in the English camp some one or more counterpart or counterparts to that ill-favoured apocryphal blacksmith, of whom we are told, to recognise and secure the royal person? Would so little store have been set by him who was the life and soul of the national movement as that he should have been left to fall by the casual stroke of one who had not the slightest idea whom he had struck, and did not even care to ascertain, but, as though he reckoned the encounter as so much time lost, hurried on to join his comrades in the pursuit? It is my firm conviction, that, disastrous as was the event, it was unembittered by treason or treachery. 'Saxon' and 'treachery' are ill-assorted words. The men of Builth have for six centuries borne an unjust reproach; truth is mighty and will prevail, and take away their reproach from them. The hero who chased his foes upon a hundred fields, made royal Edward quail and turn to flight, was, by the inscrutable decree of the Almighty, ordained to die an obscure death, by an ignoble hand. He was taken away from the evil to come. His failing sight hung on a glorious vision meet for the dying gaze of a patriot king. He beheld Cambria free. Her intrepid sons, manning their mountain battlements, looked down calm and fearless on the invading hosts beneath. He saw the standards of the aliens captured, fourteen foreign banners trailed in the dust, when as yet no calamity had struck, no cruel reverse humbled, his country's flag. The consolations of religion cheered his parting spirit; while through the land, wherever freedom and Llywelyn were dear—and in what heart of Cymro glowed not that holy flame?—priests and people lifted up their voices and wept, saying with one accord, in the old words of the old prayers—and we will say them, too, with all our hearts—'*Dona ei æternam requiem, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat ei, et requiescat in pace.*' 'Lord grant to him eternal rest; may perpetual light shine upon him; may he rest in peace.'"—pp. 97–99.